

OXFORD
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COLLEGE HISTORIES



LINCOLN



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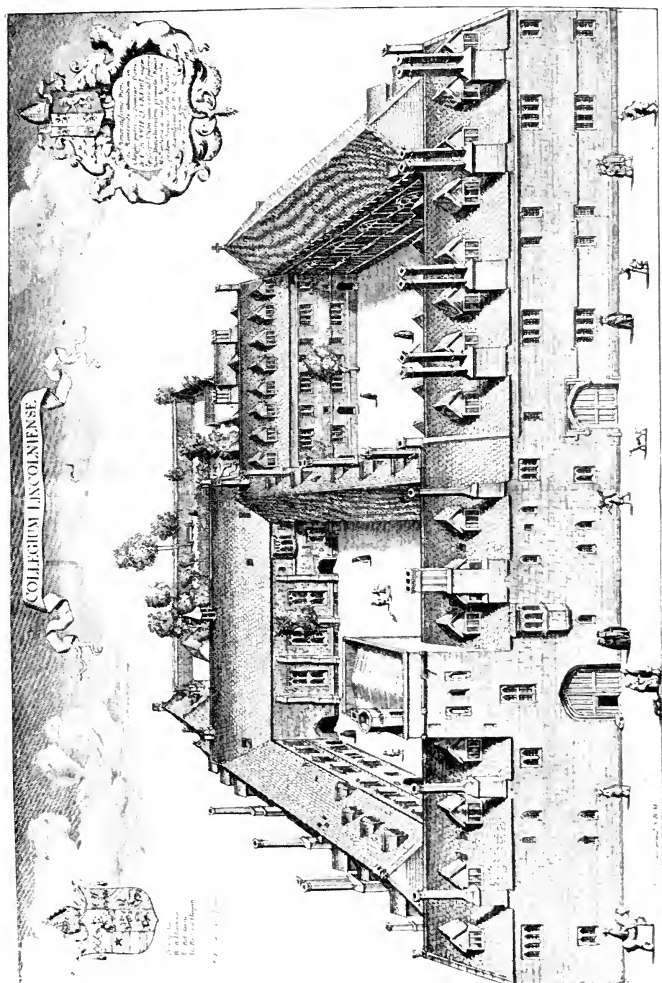


COLLEGE
HISTORIES
OXFORD

LINCOLN







VIEW BY LOGGAN (1674)

(REDUCED FACSIMILE)

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

L I N C O L N

BY

REV. A. CLARK, M.A.

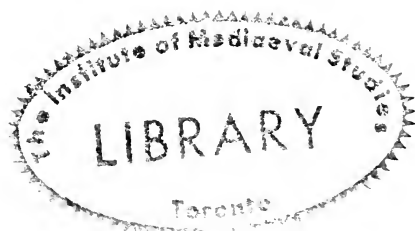
HON. LL.D. ST. ANDREWS; RECTOR OF GREAT LEIGHS, ESSEX
LATE FELLOW OF LINCOLN

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

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PREFACE

THIS history is mainly taken from MS. sources, viz., the College registers and muniments. In all places of special importance the actual words of the documents have been given, or a translation of them. The dates are, throughout, those of the year beginning on January 1.

At some very interesting periods in the history, the Civil War, for example, and the Commonwealth, the College records are altogether silent, and it has been necessary to fill up the gaps from external sources, such as the Register of the Parliamentary Visitors, and the contemporary notes of Brian Twyne and Anthony Wood.

In its later stages, the history of the College involves matter even of personal controversy. I have, therefore, submitted none of my proof-sheets to the censure of friends, in order that, for the opinions expressed, I, and I only, might be responsible.

ANDREW CLARK,

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DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE I.—VIEW BY LOGGAN (1674)

David Loggan, engraver, was employed by John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, to help him in his great designs for making the glory of Oxford known abroad. He was called upon to prepare a volume of engraved views of University and College buildings to accompany Anthony Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.* Wood's *Historia* was published in 1674; Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata*, in 1675. Fell, who had borne the expense of both, sent copies of both to many nobles and princes.

Evidence shows that Loggan's Plate of Lincoln College, dated 1674, was most faithfully done from personal observation, and it is, therefore, a reliable view of the College before the Vandal ages. Besides the points mentioned in various places of the text, attention may here be drawn to the thoroughly monastic type of the old building, the Chapel alone having battlements; and to the arrangement of the rooms, the large windows being those of the "chambers," or large living and sleeping rooms, extending from wall to wall of the building, each of which had several "studies," or little reading closets extending only to half the space, attached to it, as is seen in the small windows. Observe also the long trailing gowns of the M.A.s, and, *horribile dictu*, the undergraduate's dog in the quadrangle doing battle with the pet raven. Notice also that the arms of the College are wrongly engraved, supplying a false copy which has been persistently followed.

PLATE II.—HALL AND LIBRARY.

Notice the louvre on the Hall, much battered, a genuine example of the old central chimney. Compare the restored Hall windows with Loggan's view. The battlements are an evil modern addition. The lighter shade of the library shows where refacing has been lately necessary by the wasting of the stone. The room under is the Common-Room. The doorway to the left, in the Hall passage, leads to the Buttery, and to the staircase which goes up to the Undergraduates' Library.

PLATE III.—COLLEGE KITCHEN.

This little court is the oldest, least changed, and quaintest bit in the College. The Plate shows the Kitchen Door, black and venerable, with marks of fire on it; the College Pump; and the Manciple's Room. An edge of the window of the Guest Room is just visible above. The narrowness of this court is fatal to photographic views, but both this view from the Hall steps and the opposite view of the Hall steps from the Kitchen doorway are favourite bits with painters.

PLATE IV.—CHAPEL QUADRANGLE.

The square window over the passage is Wesley's Room, now a second Undergraduates' Library. The small windows below are the back windows of two sets, now converted into the Junior Common-Room. The Vine is in evidence. The corner is part of the Rector's Lodgings, the left half an annexation from Rotheram's 1479 building, the right half from Williams's 1629 building. The latter has been fortunate in escaping battlements. The former bears the lying rebus (see page 25).

PLATE V.—CHAPEL FROM THE GARDEN.

The Plate shows three of the four bays of the Chapel. This south side is exposed to the wasting south-west wind, whose effects

in eating away the stone are painfully evident in dismantled battlements and crumbling walls. The buttresses were rebuilt in 1886. The bow-window room was long that of Washbourne West, the famous Lincoln Bursar: Commoner, 1831; Scholar, 1832; Fellow, 1845-1897. This fine window is quite modern work, a row of houses and shops having formerly extended from this gable to All Saints' churchyard, as seen in old engravings.

PLATE VI.—INTERIOR OF CHAPEL.

This view shows about a third of the Chapel. The disposition of subjects in the grand east window is well brought out. In the north window the figures are Elijah, Daniel, David; in the south, Peter, Andrew, James (son of Zebedee). The panelling and pews are shown, with the figures of the four Evangelists, and, at the chancel end, Moses and Aaron. He who has not seen this Chapel has not seen what Puritanism was capable of. The brass eagle was the gift of Canon E. C. Lowe (Bible-clerk, 1844), and some other members of the College; the Lectionary Bible, of Dr. F. J. Manning, Scholar 1839, and four others. The detached pews in front, and the harmonium before the altar-steps are, of course, modern concessions to numbers and musical service. Notice the alarming outward bulge of the south wall.

PLATE VII.—NEW BUILDINGS IN THE GROVE.

In this Plate about half of the front of the new "Grove" is shown. I was the first tenant of the set with the bow-window. In the corner are seen one window of the hall and the louvre. The portion between the buttresses is Beckington's 1467 building. A branch of a tree half conceals the rebus on the buttress. Here also Beckington's arms are carved. In the extreme left a gable of the latest College building, the 1884 addition to the Rector's Lodgings, is just visible.

PLATE VIII.—INTERIOR OF HALL.

The Dais, raised one step, with the High Table, is shown. The fireplace, designed by T. Graham Jackson, was a gift in 1891 by the

widow of the Rev. James Ridgway (Commoner, 1847). Above it is seen the fragment of the original mullions of the window which has been converted into a fireplace. The original hearth was in the middle of the floor, just opposite. In 1889, when the roof-timbers were laid bare, they were found all smoke-begrimed under the louvre. The portraits are Lord Keeper Williams, between Fleming (left) and Rotheram (right), Tatham overhead, Bishop Crewe by the fireplace. The panelling is of date 1700. The ends of some of Forest's 1437 chestnut timbers are seen in the top left corner.

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS OF THE COLLEGE

LINCOLN COLLEGE was founded, early in the fifteenth century, by a Bishop of Lincoln, that great diocese which stretched from the Humber to the Thames, to stem the current of opinion which was then running so strongly against the mediæval Church.

THE FOUNDER'S MOTIVE.

As an Oxford student—he was Proctor in 1407—Richard Fleming had learnt the leading tenets of the school of Wycliffe, especially its assaults on the doctrines of the sacrifice of the mass and of purgatory. It was plain to him that if these tenets gained popular credence, the great wealth of the Church would present itself to the cupidity of the nobles as legitimate plunder, as being, according to the Reformers, wealth gained and kept on false pretences.

As a prince of the Church (Bishop of Lincoln in 1419) therefore, it was his duty to devise some means of defence. He saw that the new doctrines were eagerly blazed abroad by many ignorant advocates. He thought that their evil influence might be counteracted by raising up in the Church itself a succession of able men, well instructed in the Scriptures and the Fathers,

and competent to prove the existence of purgatory and the intercessory power of the Church.

THE FOUNDER'S PLAN.

Fleming, accordingly, resolved to pick out, from the keen young minds trained in the arena of the Schools of Oxford, a few choice spirits, and provide them with a home and maintenance to pursue theological studies for some years, unembarrassed by cure of souls or pecuniary troubles. Thereafter they would go forth into whatever ecclesiastical promotion they could obtain, armed and trained to be good champions of the Church in the coming struggle.

The design was altogether unambitious. Fleming had no intention, and probably had not the means, of copying the lordly foundations of Walter de Merton or William of Wykeham, which rivalled in the magnificence of their buildings and the wealth of their endowments the great monasteries that men were now so freely speaking against. A small, unpretentious house, not much larger than most of the numerous "halls" of the time, inhabited by a very few students of theology—hardly a "collegium," but, in Fleming's own word, a "collegiolum," a "little College"—that was his aim. And in the royal charter for its foundation, the Founder asked for it licence to hold in mortmain no more than lands of ten pounds yearly value.

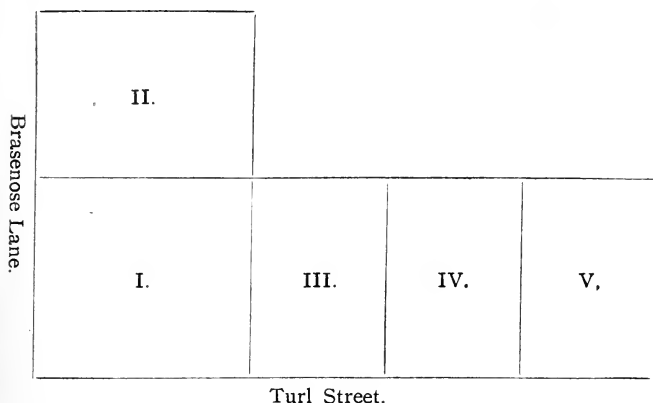
ENDOWMENT OF THE COLLEGE.

The only permanent endowment provided for the College by the Founder was the revenue of the two Oxford churches, All Saints' and St. Michael's, which

he united to found it. This revenue, arising solely from voluntary offerings and customary fees, was very small, and the salaries assigned to the two Chaplains who were to serve the parishes practically exhausted it.

SITE OF THE COLLEGE.

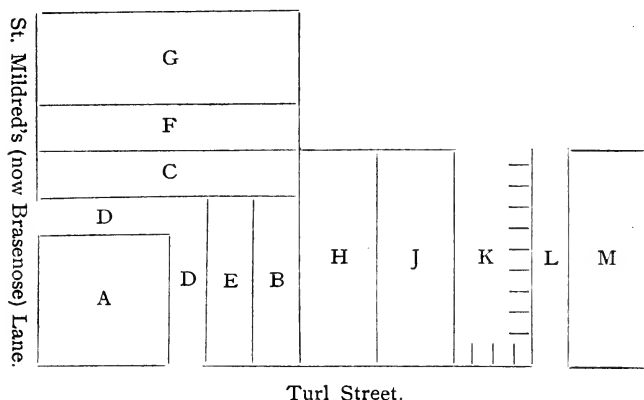
Lincoln College, with its mother-church of All Saints', occupies what may be roughly described as an L-shaped space, bounded on its indented east side by Brasenose, on its long straight west side by the Turl, and on its north and south sides by Brasenose Lane and the High. The buildings on this space now portion it out into five plats, thus :



- I. The Front Quadrangle. II. The Grove.
 III. The Chapel Quadrangle. IV. The Garden.
 V. All Saints' Church and Churchyard.

This site, cramped and shut in as it is, was not acquired at the foundation of the College, but bit by bit and at long intervals.

A diagram will make plain both the history of the acquisition of the site and the nature of the buildings which the College has displaced.



A. St. Mildred's Church and Churchyard, given by Fleming in his foundation charter, Dec. 19, 1429.

B. Craunford Hall, a garden from which the house had disappeared, bought by Fleming from Robert Craunford, April 4, 1430. On this Fleming at once began to build rooms for his College. It occupied the south-west corner of the Front Quadrangle.

C. Deep Hall, bought by Fleming from St. John Baptist Hospital (the original of Magdalen College), June 20, 1430. In this building the first Rector lived while the new building was going on opposite. It ran along the space on which the Buttery and Hall now stand.

This was all that was done in the lifetime of the Founder. Everything which follows was the gift of other benefactors.

D. A lane ("venella") bought from the City, August 1, 1435.

E. Brend Hall, which is mentioned as a residence of scholars in 1313, acquired from St. Frideswyde's Priory (the original of Christ Church), in 1439. But its purchase, together with the next, had been arranged some years earlier, and the new buildings were now standing on its site.

F. Winton (or Winchester) Hall, which is mentioned in 1303 as a residence of scholars, acquired from St. Frideswyde's in 1439. It

stood on the site of the College kitchen, which indeed may be part of its buildings.

These six parcels of land, A-F, occupying the Front Quadrangle and about half the Grove, represent the original extent of the College, all that it possessed in the time of its first two Rectors, 1429-1460.

G. Olifant Hall, bought from University College in 1463. It had been, as far back as 1435, "quite ruined and turned into a garden." The College made this a garden for vegetables, "the cook's garden" as it was called.

H. Hampton Hall, bought from University College in 1463. Principals of it occur 1438-1468.

J. Sekyll Hall, bought from University College in 1463. These two, Hampton and Sekyll, occupied the present Chapel Quadrangle. No College building was put on their site till 1609.

K. Shops and houses facing west to the Turl and south into a lane (L), which formerly ran north of All Saints' Churchyard (M). These stood on the site of the College garden. One or more of them were acquired by the College very early, but most of them descended from St. John Baptist Hospital to Magdalen College, from which Lincoln bought part of them (for the site of the Chapel) early in the seventeenth century, and other parts (for the Garden late in the seventeenth, and in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATION AND EARLY TROUBLES

Rectors : William Chamberleyn, 1st Rector, 1429-1434; John Beke, 2nd, 1434-1460.

LINCOLN COLLEGE had a most inauspicious beginning, losing its founder before he had completed his arrangements for it, and twice afterwards hardly escaping suppression.

THE FOUNDATION.

In 1427 Fleming had so far matured his plans for the College that he was able to take steps for putting them into execution. He began by obtaining from the king and Parliament leave to unite the three Oxford parish churches of All Saints', St. Michael's, and St. Mildred's, into a collegiate church, and in that church to establish a College, consisting of a "Custos sive Rector et septem Scholares" and two Chaplains to serve the churches, under the name of "Collegium Beatae Mariæ et Omnium Sanctorum Lincoln. in Universitate Oxon." He added the chantry of St. Anne in All Saints'.

Henry VI.'s charter bears date October 13, 1427.

Fleming's foundation-charter, uniting the churches and appointing William Chamberleyn to be the first Rector, was issued December 19, 1429, "from the chapel of his manor of Lyddington" in Rutland.

FOUNDATION AND EARLY TROUBLES 7

Next year he began buying the site and erecting the buildings just south of the Tower. He died suddenly January 25, 1431, and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. The probability is that he left no will, for nothing came to the College after his death.

DESOLATE CONDITION OF THE COLLEGE.

We have very scanty information about the College at this point, but we are not likely to err in supposing it to have been on the verge of extinction.

There was for certain a Rector, and possibly also Fellows. In December 1432 there is a notice that Dr. Thomas Gascoigne gave six MSS., valued at £17 10s., to the College, and, if this is more than a law phrase, that the "Rector et Socii, unanimi consensu," then lent them to him for the term of his life.

There were a site, partially acquired; new buildings begun; and some old buildings (Deep Hall) standing. Also, of Fleming's gift, there were ornaments and vessels for the chapel, an inventory of 1474 mentioning a "frontal," a silver-gilt chalice and patten, and a silver cup, as "ex dono Fundatoris."

But when the Rector, Chamberleyn, died in March 1434, things were so unsettled that it needed a special act of the Visitor (the Bishop of Lincoln) to appoint a successor.

ACTIVITY OF DR. JOHN BEKE.

The Visitor instituted, May 7, 1434, John Beke, vicar of St. Michael's, to the Rectorship of the College, thus extinguishing a vested interest which stood in the way of carrying out the Founder's charter. Beke, as has been said, had practically to begin afresh. He had

a site to purchase, buildings to put up, endowments to acquire. But being a man of great energy, and having a firm belief in the ability of the College to reward spiritually for temporal help, he compelled a large number of different classes of people to help him.

THE COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

The first benefactors whom Beke induced to come to the rescue of the orphan college were Churchmen who had perhaps owed their promotion to Fleming. By their help the buildings were soon finished.

John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford, had contributed, before 1436, a "notable sum of money" towards the buildings; and, with this, Beke was able to purchase what was still lacking of the site.

John Forest, Canon of Lincoln, and Dean of Wells, took on himself the charge of completing the buildings, perhaps according to some plan left by Fleming. Before 1437, it is said of him, "*collegium in integrum ædificavit, capellam cum libraria, aulam cum coquina, cameras in alto et in basso, de nobili opere et figura decenti eleganter construxit.*"

Forest's work will be easily understood by comparing the diagram (p. 9) with the east, north, and west sides of the front quadrangle in the view by Loggan.

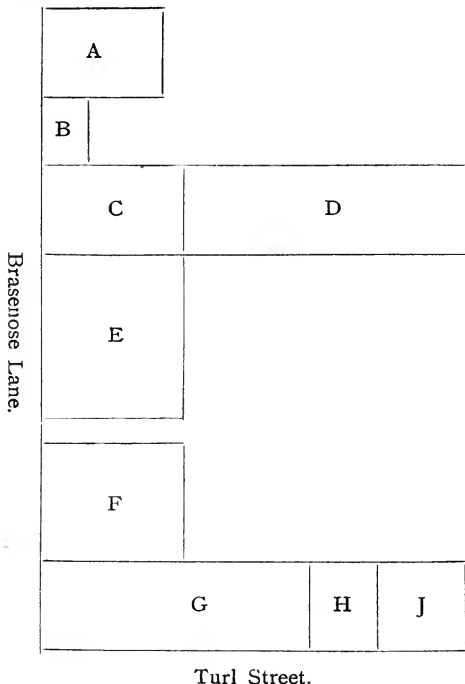
The College occupied only the present front quadrangle. Northwards it towered over the little halls and gardens which stood on the site of Exeter College Hall. To the south it lay open, and had a view, across gardens and humble houses, of All Saints' Church. It must, therefore, have then been a bright, sunny spot.

Of this work of Forest, only the kitchen has alto-

FOUNDATION AND EARLY TROUBLES 9

gether escaped the hand of the restorer, and that, as was suggested (p. 5), may be a structure of even earlier

The disposition of the rooms was as follows :



A. The Kitchen. B. The Manciple's room, perhaps; with a set of rooms above. C. The Buttery, with a rough-pillared room below ground (called "the Cloister" in 1666), leading to a cellar; over it were two sets of rooms in two upper storeys. D. The Hall. E. Two sets of rooms on the ground floor, with the chapel over. F. A set of rooms on the ground floor and another in the attic, with the Library on the first floor. G, J. Sets of rooms, in three storeys. H. The Tower, comprising entrance gateway, the Rector's rooms on the first floor, and in the upper storey the Treasury or Muniment-room.

date, repaired by him. One of our plates shows its doorway, and the quaint penthouse over the College pump.

The Hall was a fine room, with three windows on each side, each with two lights, divided at the middle by mullions. The fire was in the centre of the room, a large brazier on a stone slab probably, and the smoke escaped by a louvre in the roof. All these details are seen in Loggan's view, as is also the Perpendicular doorway. The corresponding door at the other end of the Hall passage, is a still better example of the style. The poverty of the College, at the time of these buildings, is plain from the fact that the hall was left unwainscoted. This led to the great injury it received in the eighteenth century. When the wainscot was then put up, the fireplace was moved into the middle window on the east side, the old mullioning was cut out of the other five windows, and a wagon-roof of lath and plaster inserted for warmth. In 1889 the wagon-roof was removed, and the chestnut timbers of Forest's buildings again given to the light. It was found that the mullions of the old window were left in the chimney, supplying a fortunate pattern for true "restoration." At the impulse of Dr. Merry, the present Rector, members of the College, resident and non-resident, subscribed, in 1891, to have the Hall windows restored, under the care of T. Graham Jackson, of Wadham College. The result has been most happy. Although irretrievably darkened by the closing of two windows on the east side, one by the fireplace, the other by the new buildings of the Grove, Lincoln College Hall is now one of which the College may well be proud, both by day and at night by candle-light.

The instinct of reverence for old times, and the possession of noble silver branch-candlesticks, have so far saved the Hall from the modernising touch of oil-lamp, or gas, or electric light! In this respect it stands alone in Oxford. In the restored windows of 1891, medallions, containing, in good glass, the arms of principal benefactors were inserted. The old glass, noted in heraldic visitations, &c., up to 1641, had all disappeared. The Hall is shown in three of our plates, from the west, from the Grove (displaying the one east window still unblocked), and the interior.

The Chapel was an upper room, probably of equal grace and lightness with the Hall. In Loggan's view it is seen to have had four windows on the north facing four on the south, each apparently of three lights. But the eighteenth century, converting it into a library, has taken away its beauty, and left it a fine room only, cold and stiff. Its present external appearance is shown in the view of the Hall from the west. Whether, above the present lath-and-plaster ceiling, the old timbering of the roof awaits restoration, and whether behind the east gallery lurk any remains of a *reredos*, are questions well worth the attention of some benefactor, who must, however, first provide a larger, new, library to contain the already overflowing and constantly accumulating stock of books. The licence to celebrate in the Chapel was not formally obtained for some years, being granted by John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, February 19, 1451. But, I suspect, the Chapel had been used all along since 1437. It was certainly finished before 1441.

The Library was what now is the Sub-rector's rooms. As seen in Loggan, it had on each side three two-light

windows. It has now lost much of its dignity by division into two rooms, and its windows have been changed into oblong openings in the wall, from an ill-advised attempt to convert a fifteenth-century building into a copy of the eighteenth-century buildings at Magdalen and Worcester.

ENDOWMENT OF THE COLLEGE.

Thus successful in providing buildings, Beke was equally fortunate in securing endowments.

Forest was a contributor to this object, giving money enough to acquire property estimated to produce one hundred shillings annual rent, with which, among other things, an additional fellowship was to be instituted for natives of the diocese of Wells (county of Somerset). In return for his bounty, the College acknowledged Forest as co-founder ("in quantum in nobis est in nostrum Co-fundatorem recepimus"), and directed that whenever a Fellow preached before the University he should in the bidding-prayer commend Forest equally with Fleming to the prayers of the congregation.

A second class of benefactors was brought in by Beke to increase the endowments, viz., parishioners of All Saints' and residents near Oxford who wished to make with their property provision for the welfare of their souls.

The first of these was Emelina Carr, wife of John Carr, esquire bedell of Law. Dying in October 1436, she directed "her body to be buried in All Saints' Church in front of the image of Our Saviour next her son," and that the property in All Saints' parish which she had inherited from her father should pass at her

husband's death to Lincoln College. This property was partly on the south side of High Street, and partly on the north side of Bear Lane. The High Street portion was then a house with a shop on each side of the entry; in the seventeenth century it was an inn, the Ram, to be hereafter mentioned; and is now Nos. 113 and 114 in High Street.

Another benefactor of the same class was William Finderne, esquire, of Childrey, who gave the College, in July 1444, the very ancient estate of Seacourt in Botley parish, having a house, dove-cot, 100 acres of pasture, and 40 acres of meadow. The College undertook to appoint an additional Fellow, in priest's orders, to pray for the good estate of him and his wife Elizabeth during their lives, and afterwards for the welfare of their souls.

Finderne gave also a "notable sum of money." With this and Forest's money, and probably smaller benefactions, the College bought, in 1445, 147 acres of land in Littlemore, Iffley, and Cowley. The most interesting portion of this purchase had been part of the forfeited estate of Richard II.'s unfortunate judge, Sir Robert Tresilian. This was "*unum molendinum aquaticum*," which is still at its old trade, Iffley Mill. The view of the mill, across the lower pool, is the finest bit of river scenery near Oxford, but how few of those who sketch it know that the College documents prove its unbroken activity, as a mill, for more than 600 years.

A third class of benefactors, drawn in by the arts of Beke to aid the College, is found in the executors of such wealthy prelates, as had left, according to the practice of the age, a considerable sum to be laid out by their executors for the good of their souls.

The first conspicuous instance of this brings into the College the name of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal-priest of St. Eusebius, "*Cardinalis de Anglia vulgariter nuncupatus.*" Beaufort died April 11, 1447, and before November that year, Beke had secured 100 marcs from his executors, the lever he used being probably Beaufort's former connection with the See of Lincoln (where he was Bishop 1398-1404).

Still another class of benefactors, the fourth and the most interesting of all, appears in this Rectorship, members of the College itself. Small gifts, according to their poverty, had been already conferred, by men of this class, on the College; MSS. for example by Roger Betson (Fellow 1436), and others; 12 silver spoons by Beke; and so on. But the year 1452 brought a considerable benefaction from this source. John Bucktot, Priest, Commoner of the College, died in College, March 25, 1452, and was buried in All Saints' Church, on the right hand of the high altar. He gave the College his manor of Little Pollicott, in the parish of Ashendon, Bucks, 305 acres, "*in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam.*"

While benefactions from outside have long ceased, benefactions, large or small, have never ceased to come from within; and the College has been built up, like a coral island, mainly by the contributions of former members.

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

We have thus traced out the material progress of the College; it is high time to ask what can be learnt about its inner, personal life.

Here, unfortunately, we have next to no information,

and can produce only a few isolated facts, insufficient material for even the historic imagination to build with.

MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

The College we know had a Rector, a man, we can see, of very remarkable personality, who did wonders for it, the absence of any memorial of whom, brass, inscription, or the like, must ever be a source of regret to its members.

There were also Fellows, of whom we can recover a few names from wills and other chance documents. Thus we find in the omnimodous collections of Brian Twyne a note of a suit, September 30, 1438, between John Matherby and the Friars Preachers, in which Matherby is mentioned as rector of St. Ebbe's and "first"—*i.e.*, formerly—"Fellow of Lincoln College." One stray account-book of 1456 shows us some five Fellows of the old Fleming foundation, and, of the new, John Hebyn, "*capellanus Gulielmi Finderne*." But, on the whole, the years 1429 to 1459, the first thirty years of the College history, are a blank. We have still less to show when we ask about the appointment of the Fellows, or their tenure, or their number. What county or diocese restrictions existed and all other points of that nature are also unrecorded.

Besides the Fellows there were the two Chaplains, as is before said. There was also the Bible-clerk, mentioned in the Beaufort agreement, 1447, as "*clericus legens Bibliam in Collegio*." His duties included waiting at table in Hall, where also he said grace before and after meat and read a chapter from the Gospel during the meal. At first he gave the College

a most interesting connection with Lincoln Cathedral, for he was chosen from its choristers.

There were Commoners too, graduates willing to pay rent for rooms. In 1456 we have in an account-book the names of five Commoners paying rent for rooms, probably all M.A.s, since "Mr." is prefixed to each name. With them, no doubt, came some servitors, young scholar-servants.

A DAY'S LIFE IN COLLEGE.

Can we, from the scattered hints given us, construct any picture of the life of the time?

It is early morning and the sun's first beams are struggling through the chinks of the window-shutter, revealing a large room with one or two beds for the graduates and a truckle-bed for their servitors. One rises, and opens the shutter, and the cold air, rushing in through the unglazed window, arouses all. Then the graduates wrap themselves in their fur cloaks and shut themselves up in their closet-studies to pore over their crabbed text-book or still more crabbed notes, while the servitors make up the room. Then come the chapel services, varied from time to time by anniversary services for special benefactors. Then they break their fast, the fare being bread and cheese and "a pot o' the smallest ale."

From seven onwards the morning was crowded with disputations and lectures in the chapel and hall of the College and in the Schools of the University, and with University functions, sermons, processions, degree-ceremonies. Few, far too few, then as now, were the moments in which the student might steal into the

College Library or the University Library in the upper room at St. Mary's.

At nine, perhaps, the morning was "cut with a drink," there being then a "biberium" allowed, a pint of ale and a morsel of bread. Contrary opinions often produced disputes, more lively than seemly, at these refectations. A College Order in 1538 imposes a scone of 4*d.* on any Fellow who shall give another opprobrious words at the common table, "in biberio," in the buttery, in the kitchen, or in any other public place in College.

At eleven, dinner was served. The company assembled in the Hall. The Bible-clerk repeated the Latin grace, and read the chapter appointed by the Sub-rector. The food, if it were a lawful day, consisted of a bowl of meat-juice, thickened with oat-meal (the "oat-meal-score" is a chief item in the accounts for many a year), followed by a helping of the boiled meat on a thick slice of bread, served on a wooden trencher, and flanked by a tankard of College beer. If it were a fasting day, the meat was replaced by salt fish; and hence, from the inferior quality of the salt and the inefficiency of the curing, Lent was a season of much sickness. Here and there, the routine was broken in upon by a Church feast-day, or some benefactor's obit had added something to mend their fare, or some College tenant had sent a present of capons or brawn or game. At the close of the meal, a special prayer was said for the souls of principal benefactors, followed by the grace after meat.

In the afternoon, came a walk along the delightful field-paths or a look-on at the younger scholars shooting at the archery-butts north of St. Giles's Church.

When they returned from their walk, there was, some time in the afternoon, possibly about three, a second "biberium." It is mentioned in 1444, in the agreement with William Finderne, where the College pledges itself to say devoutly the Psalm *de profundis*, and a prayer for the souls of the said William, Dame Elizabeth his wife, and all faithful deceased, "post secundum biberium in aula."

Later in the afternoon came the chapel-services. Then, about six, supper in Hall. After which they sat round the Hall fire, conversing on the gloomy topics of the day, the spread of pestilence, the sufferings of the common people, the loss of France, the dreadful contest between York and Lancaster.

Then, before retiring, a race round the quadrangle to warm the feet well. I have spoken with old members of the College who themselves had done this regularly when they came into residence in the eighteenth-thirties.

THE LIBRARY.

The Library, in the present Sub-rector's rooms, had already received a considerable number of MSS.

The Catalogue of 1474 shows that the Founder had given twenty-five MSS., probably in 1430. In 1432, December 13, Thomas Gascoigne gave six MSS., which the College then lent him for the term of his life. One of these MSS. contained Augustine's "de Civitate Dei" and Pope Gregory's "Moralia," and was valued at £10. Another, Walter Burley's commentary "super x libros ethicorum," was valued at 50*s*. This supplies us with an early testimony against lending MSS. In the 1474 Catalogue, thirteen MSS. are enumerated of

Gascoigne's gift, but only one of the above six, Burley's "super libros ethicorum," is found among them. John Southam gave eleven MSS.; John Forest, four; and some early Fellows, one or two more. By the end of Beke's rectorship the Library must have possessed quite sixty MSS.

CHAPTER III

CONTINUED TROUBLES AND SECOND FOUNDATION

Rector (3rd): John Tristropp, 1461-1479

It was fortunate for the College that the new Rector was a man of ability, for the political troubles of the time twice threatened its destruction.

UNDER WHICH KING ?

A change of dynasty, even in far later and far more settled times, produced great uneasiness. John Aubrey describes how, when James succeeded Elizabeth, a Stuart a Tudor, the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke's, advice was "that every man of estate—right or wrong—should sue out his pardon." This allayed their anxiety, and crammed his own fee-bag.

How much greater the anxiety when the succession was determined by civil war, and the wealth of England might be made the spoils of the victor.

There had been apprehension in College as far back as 1446, 25 Henry VI., and the College in September that year had sued out its "pardon of all manner of transgressions, forfeitures, penalties, misprisions, &c., committed or incurred by the Rector and Fellows up to

9th April last." But when the news came that young Edward of York, having shattered the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross in Hereford, on February 2, 1461, was approaching London from the west; and, on the other hand, that the relentless Queen Margaret of Anjou was marching south with her wild northern host, the anxiety grew intolerable. Beke, now old and infirm, determined that a younger and stronger man was needed to keep for the College what he had gathered. He resigned, and his successor, John Tristropp, was elected on February 28, 1461. Meanwhile, Edward IV. had entered London, February 25; was offered the crown on March 2, and four weeks later, annihilated the Lancastrians at Towton, March 29.

FIRST CHARTER OF EDWARD IV.

The crown was in need of money, and some of its lawyers suggested, as a means of supplying the need, the suppression of those bodies corporate which, like Lincoln College, had their title from the dethroned Henry VI.

The College appealed for help to George Nevile, an old Balliol man, Chancellor of the University, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor of England, but, above all, son and brother of the great Yorkist leaders, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

By his advice the College addressed its petition

"To the King, our elder liege lord.

"Pleas hit your Highness, of your most noble and benign grace, for to graunt unto your humble and perpetuell orators, the Wardeyn or Rector and Scolers of the College founded in the worship of Our Lady and of Alle Hallowes

in your University of Oxon, your gracious letters patents to be made under the great seal in due forme according unto the tenor here followyng, without any fyne or fee thereof to be taken to your use, any acte statute or ordynaunce notwithstanding, and they shall pray God specially for you."

The "form" annexed stated that the king, seeing that Lincoln College had been lately founded "*ex licentia Henrici sexti, nuper regis Angliæ de facto et non de jure existentis*," and had acquired lands in mortmain on the strength of that licence, thought good to ratify and confirm the foundation, the original licence in mortmain, and a recently obtained licence in mortmain for £50 additional yearly value.

By Nevile's good offices the prayer of the College was granted. On January 23, 1462, Edward IV. sent the College his "pardon of all transgressions" up to November 4, 1461, and his "release of all fines," &c., up to March 5, 1462. The Letters Patent under the Great Seal, with the assent of Parliament, issued in answer to the petition of the College, were dated February 9, 1462.

GRATITUDE OF THE COLLEGE TO BISHOP NEVILE.

The College felt that it owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Chancellor. Accordingly an instrument was drawn up, August 20, 1462, which, after reciting how he "*dictum Collegium ab avidis canum latratibus et manibus diripientium humanissime protexit*," binds the College to give the bishop himself, his father "*Dominus Ricardus Nevyle nuper Comes Sarum*," and his kindred, an equal place in the College

prayers with the Founder and the other greatest benefactors.

THE MISSING CLAUSE.

In the "form" presented by the College there had been this clause :

"We, therefore, ratify the foundation of the College, the acquisition of lands, and all other things done under Henry VI.'s charter, and—*pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus approbamus ratificamus, ac præfato Custodi sive Rectori et Scholaribus et successoribus suis, tenore præsentium, damus concedimus et confirmamus.*"

In the copy to which the Great Seal was attached the important words *et successoribus* were omitted, and the grant ran, "*præfato Custodi sive Rectori et Scholaribus suis, tenore præsentium, damus,*" &c.

The import of this will appear presently.

The omission may have been accidental, a clerical slip due to the *ribus* of the termination. It is, however, most remarkable that after the death of the "king-maker" Warwick at Barnet and the disgrace of his brother George (now Archbishop of York), the College was again assailed. There is certainly suspicion that the unknown coveter of the College lands, baffled for the moment by the Nevile influence, caused the words to be omitted that he might have a pretext for again attempting to have the lands when the Neviles were out of court.

THE NEW BUILDINGS.

The Rector, Tristropp, had well earned the benefit the Head gained by a benefaction which came in at this time.

In January 1465, Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, died, and left his executors a sum of money to lay out in pious uses. Tristropp, following Beke's example, at once sent in a claim for a portion of this, perhaps putting forward Dean Forest's benefaction as a plea. Before November the executors had paid over to the College the sum of £200.

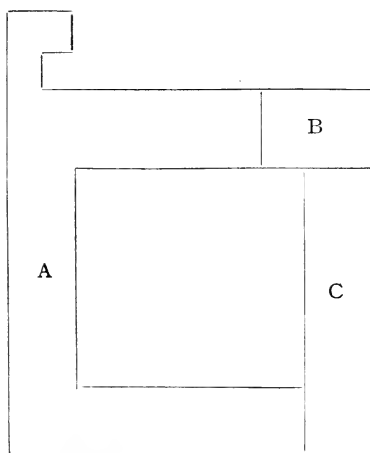
With part of this money the College in 1471 bought 121 acres of land at Holcot in Northamptonshire. This provided for the Somerset Fellow, already promised in commemoration of John Forest.

With the remainder new Lodgings for the Rector were built at the south end of the Hall. They had a doorway of their own into the quadrangle, a fine room on the ground floor, and another with a noble oriel window on the second floor, with attics above and cellars beneath. The view in Loggan shows their arrangement, as also the rebus, T. followed by a "beck" or beacon, "in" a "tun" or barrel, for Thomas Beckington. These features have been destroyed, but on a buttress in the Grove an original rebus and coat of arms are still to be seen. One of our plates gives a view of Beckington's building from the Grove.

Here, though it somewhat anticipates the history, we may bring in Thomas Rotheram's, the second Founder's, buildings. In 1479 he completed the quadrangle by adding its south side, thus increasing the accommodation of the College by a staircase and two half-staircases, *i.e.*, twelve "chambers" (with their "studies") in all. This brought the College to the form, as regards buildings, it bore till Jacobean times. A rude view of

the College as it then stood, drawn by John Bereblock for exhibition to Queen Elizabeth at her visit in 1566, has been many times reproduced. It is a room in Rotheram's addition, that over the passage into the Chapel quadrangle, which is said to have been John Wesley's. This is now a lecture-room, with bookshelves of history books for undergraduates, and in it is hung a portrait of Wesley. It is shown in one of our plates. At a later period, probably about 1800, the eastern half-staircase was added to the Rector's Lodgings to which it joined, and Beckington's rebus was then carved on its north and south walls, to cover the annexation. This is shown in the same plate.

A diagram will make plain the nature of these new buildings, and their relation to Forest's.



A. Forest's building (see p. 9), 1437. B. Beckington's building, 1467. C. Bishop Rotheram's building, 1479.

MINOR BENEFACTION.

One minor benefaction, of interest, may be noted, before we pass on to the great event of this period.

In 1465, Robert Fleming, Dean of Lincoln, gave a "tabula" for the high altar in the College Chapel, and 38 MSS. of classical authors for the Library. Many of the MSS. have been lost, probably when Edward VI.'s Commission plundered the College. Those that remain are written in that beautiful Italian hand which prevailed at the time, and contrasted so favourably with the rudeness of the early printer's art. The Cicero MSS. have had a curious history. In the age when a MS. was a MS., and as good as or better than any other, the legibility of these MSS. made them great favourites with editors, and "Codex Linc." was a frequent citation. For their modern reputation, the reader, who is above being offended by scolding in Latin, may be referred to Madvig.

BISHOP ROTHERAM'S VISITATION.

Thomas Rotheram, translated from Rochester to Lincoln, March 1472, held his primary Visitation in Oxford in 1474. He there saw for himself the unfinished state of the College, and undertook to help it. The College Register has two notices of this Visitation, one plain matter-of-fact, the other introducing an element of poetry, the famous story of the Vine. As this is one of the most striking incidents in College history, both notices may be given.

The agreement made with Rotheram in May 1475, says :—

"Thomas Rotheram, Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor

of England, ‘in sua generali visitatione, prædictum Collegium compassionis suæ oculo aspexit, intellegensque tale opus imperfectum longa tempora stare non posse,’ took on himself the task of completing it (‘perficiendum’).”

In 1569 or 1570, Robert Parkinson (Fellow 1566-1571), in his “Brevis annotatio de Fundatoribus et Benefactoribus Coll. Linc. in Oxon.,” after describing Rotheram’s acts, adds :—

“Est autem scitu dignum qua ratione factum est ut hoc aggrediretur opus. Ferunt enim quod cum, de more diocesim visitando, Oxoniam veniret, quidam ex sociis, vel Rector Tristrop, illum, inter concionandum alloquens, hortatus est ut collegium perficeret, illo Psalm. 80, 15, *Vide et visita vineam istam et perfice eam quam plantavit dextera tua.* Quibus verbis ita episcopum commovit ut statim concionanti responderet se facturum quod peteret.”

The vine, which possibly suggested the text that had so happy an effect, is seen in Loggan luxuriating on the Hall. Its successor is the vigorous plant on the north side of the Chapel quadrangle, which seldom fails to yield its clusters for the Gaudy on All Saints’ Day.

The sermon may have been in the College Chapel. In 1539, John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, held a Visitation of the College, in the Chapel.

ROTHERAM’S BENEFACTION.

Rotheram’s first step was to order a thorough valuation of the College to be made, and this was done in December 1474. Unfortunately, the valuation of the estates has not been preserved; but we have the inventory of books chained in the library (one hundred and thirty-five MSS.), to which was added, in 1476, an inventory of

College books lent out to the Fellows (thirty-seven MSS.) ; the inventory of money (£50) and plate in the Tower, including "a little silver-gilt box with divers relics, given by Dr. Thomas Gascoigne ;" the inventory of vestments, &c., in the Chapel, including "six white ornaments of the altar, with their curtains, given by John Golofry, esquire ;" and, very slight, inventories of stuffs in the Hall (some hangings of red and others of green silk), and of College goods in the Rector's lodgings, including a silver-gilt cup with cover, certain tapestry, and "*unum senex fedirbed.*"

Next, Rotheram secured to the College the Chantry of St. Anne, by a new agreement with the City of Oxford.

He then incorporated into the College the churches of Twyford, Bucks, and Combe Longa near Woodstock, leaving these parishes to be served by two Chaplains, as Fleming had done with All Saints' and St. Michael's.

SECOND CHARTER OF EDWARD IV.

The College was once more threatened with dissolution, this time on the ground of the missing clause (p. 23). Rotheram came to the rescue. Letters patent were issued, June 16, 1478, reciting the former patents of Henry VI. and Edward IV., and stating that, by omission of the words "*et successoribus*," anxiety had been felt by the College, and that therefore the present letters patent had been granted to re-confirm all the former.

Further, they empowered Bishop Rotheram to increase the number of Fellows from seven to twelve ; and allowed the College to hold lands in mortmain to the yearly value of £10 beyond the amount granted in former licences.

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF FELLOWSHIPS.

The increase in the number of fellowships, from the number of the Deacons to that of the Apostles, was not done by Rotheram altogether out of his own pocket. It was the formal ratification of other gifts. As has been seen when the benefactions of John Forest and William Finderne were received, the College promised to provide, in each case, a new Fellow.

A third of the additional fellowships was provided for at this very time. In 1476, John Crosby, Treasurer of Lincoln, gave 100 marcs to provide a "capellanus legista," *i.e.*, a Fellow to pray for the benefactor and study Canon Law.

CODE OF STATUTES.

Rotheram finished his work for the College by supplying, on February 11, 1480, a body of statutes. In this he laid down rules for elections, for the duties of officers, for the confining of some of the fellowships to natives of the diocese of Lincoln, with special county and archdeaconry preferences, and of others, with similar preferences, to the diocese of York. This remained the code under which the College lived till the Commission of 1854. It contained several obscurities, and appeals to the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, were frequently made. But, making allowance for the unreasonableness of some Fellows and the turbulence of some periods, it proved workable from first to last.

A copy of the statutes, signed by Rotheram himself, is preserved in the College archives.

Rotheram died in May 1500, and was buried in York Cathedral. His tomb was damaged in the incendiary

fire kindled by the maniac Martin in 1829, but faithfully restored by the College in 1830.

In connection with this a story may be told, which illustrates the injustice of popular judgment. The College scrupulously copied the well-known work of the original tomb. A member of the College went at this time to see the restoration. He overheard a clergyman abusing the College to his friends. "The Archbishop founded their College, and this paltry tomb is what the Fellows have just put up to him."

DEATH OF TRISTROPP.

Tristropp did not live to see the conclusion of the work, the establishment of the College on a secure basis, to which he had contributed so much. The last document which mentions him is the agreement, November 3, 1479, by which the College bound itself to certain services for Walter Bate, Commoner, who gave the College (*inter alia*) a house in the lane north of All Saints' Church. Bate was buried in the choir of St. Michael's.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF BENEFACTIONS

Rectors (4th to 8th from the Foundation): George Strangways, 1480-1488; William Bethome, 1488-1493; Thomas Bank, 1493-1503; Thomas Drax, 1503-1519; John Cottisford, 1519-1539.

THE years from 1480 to 1539, covering five rectorships, yield nothing noteworthy in the domestic history of the College, either because they were of that peaceful type which is proverbially barren as regards annals, or because the records have been destroyed. Their one remarkable feature is the splendid liberality of former members of the College.

THE DAGVILLE-PARKER BENEFACTION.

The intention of this benefaction belongs to the preceding period, but it took effect in this. William Dagville, a wealthy citizen of Oxford, and several times Mayor, had, by a former marriage, a daughter Joan, named after her mother, now married to Edmund Gill. On his marriage in 1474 with a young kinswoman, heiress of Dagville's Inn (now the Mitre) in All Saints' parish, and the Christopher Inn (now part of Elliston and Cavell's) in Magdalen parish, William Dagville made his will. By this he directs his "body to be beryd in Oure Lady Chapell afore the awter in the

Church of Allhalowyn in Oxonford," and gives Dagville's Inn and the Christopher to his wife Margaret for her lifetime. At her death, the Mitre is to come to his daughter Joan, but the Christopher "I will that the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College shall have for ever . . . to kepe every yere my mynde," *i.e.*, in the Latin equivalent, the anniversary of his death. If Joan die without issue, all his lands in the parishes of All Saints' and St. Martin in Oxford, and in Abingdon, are to come to Lincoln College "for ever, and they for to kepe myn obyt worshipfully." This will was proved November 9, 1476, and a deed was formally executed by Edmund and Joan Gill, April 27, 1477, acknowledging and confirming its terms.

There must have been some codicil or some question of title which prevented the full execution of Dagville's intentions: the property in St. Martin's parish and in Abingdon never came to the College.

Margaret Dagville, being left a rich young widow, married again, and appears next as Margaret Parker, widow, in February 1489, when she leased Dagville's Inn and the Christopher to the College for the term of her life at a yearly rent of ten marcs. She died in 1523.

In 1513 this Margaret Parker, then of "Chepyngfaryndon in the county of Berks," gave the College £133 6s. 8d. sterling in ready money, on condition that yearly for ten years after her death they should pay £6 13s. 4d. to each of "two honest secular priests of good and sad conversation and guydyng" to sing daily in the Lady Chapel of All Saints' Church, Faringdon, for her and all Christian souls. I am inclined to think that this money, with the benefactions of Edmund

Audley and others, was invested in 1518 in the purchase of lands in Buckinghamshire.

Dagville's bequest gave the College a fine garden, now occupied by the Oxford market, and the ownership of a most ancient hostelry, known since its acquisition by the College as "the Mitre," formerly as Dagville's Inn, and further back, in 1364, as Croxford's Inn.

WILLIAM SMYTH'S BENEFACTION.

William Smyth, who was translated from Lichfield to Lincoln, November 1495, being a native of Lancashire, is not likely to have been Fellow of Lincoln. But his munificence to the College suggests that he may be Mr. William Smith, who was Commoner in 1475.

In 1508 he obtained leave for the College to hold in mortmain the manors of Senclers in Chalgrove in Oxford and Bushbury (or Elston) in Staffordshire, together over 520 acres, which he then bestowed on it. He gave his benefaction unconditionally, and the deed by which he conveyed so large a property is one of the smallest in the College chest. He intended, however, it would appear, to open up his fellowships to his native county and his former diocese, and (as may be conjectured) when the College was unwilling, he transferred his further bounty to Brasenose College, of which he became the co-founder.

Robert Parkinson, writing about 1570, says :

"Gulielmus Smyth, episcopus Lincoln., fundator Collegii de Brasinnos, maximus benefactor Collegii exstitit. Dedit Collegio manerium de Elston in com. Stafford, et manerium cum pertinentiis in Chalgrove. Hujus nulla remanet, quod sciam, compositio scripta. Proposuerat

enim, ut ferunt, omnia nostro Collegio præstitisse quæ postea in Brasinnos egit, si voluissent Rector et Socii qui tum fuerunt ab eo propositas conditiones recipere."

EDMUND AUDLEY'S BENEFACTION.

An Edmund Audley supplicated for B.A. in February 1463. Edmund Audley, son of James Touchet, Lord Audley and Alianore his wife, Bishop of Salisbury (1501), and formerly of Rochester (1480), and of Hereford (1492), became a benefactor to Lincoln College in 1518. The dates suggest the identity of the two, and a further conjecture is that the College of Audley's benefaction had been the College of his education.

Part of his gift was books to the Library, where some of the most ponderous volumes of the early press bear inscriptions testifying to their having been given by him.

In Robert Parkinson's notice of the benefactors above cited, Audley's is the last name, and it is said that "*dedit Collegio £400 quibus emptæ et perquisitæ sunt terras,*" near Newport-Pagnell in Bucks, 627 acres, "*ad emendas vesturas sociorum.*" This would make him one of the largest benefactors the College ever had. But I think it rests on a mistake. These lands were bought in 1518, but of the purchase money Audley's own share was only £40.

Audley's "*compositio,*" dated June 8, 1518, sets forth that he has given the College £40 to buy lands, "*ad emendum pannum competentem pro togis juxta laudabilem consuetudinem nonnullorum aliorum Collegiorum Universitatis Oxon.*" By virtue of this benefaction the sum of £4 is still paid annually to

the Rector and each of the four senior Fellows "pro robis."

Another benefaction of Audley was the first step ever taken to provide promotion for any member of the College. He built in his Cathedral of Salisbury a chantry chapel, of which it is not too much to say that it is an ornament to the most beautiful cathedral in England. The priest who was endowed to serve this was to be chosen from the Fellows of Lincoln. Audley died August 23, 1524. George Flower, Fellow 1532-1540, resigned "cantariam Edmundi Audley in ecclesia de Sarum" in 1547, and was succeeded by Richard Turnbull, Fellow since 1535.

EDWARD DARBY'S BENEFACTION.

We have now come so far down in the history of the College that many of the yearly account-books are preserved, and we are able to construct a tolerably complete list of Fellows, but not to specify their exits and their entrances. We can thus, for certain, claim the next great benefactor as an old member of the College.

Edward Darby, Archdeacon of Stow 1507-1543, buried in Lincoln Cathedral, occurs as Fellow of Lincoln in 1493 and 1495, and was Senior Proctor in 1500.

In January 1537, Darby empowered John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and Visitor of the two Colleges, to negotiate with Lincoln College for the foundation, by him, of certain fellowships, and with Brasenose College, for a similar foundation there. No time was lost. In May 1537, the terms were settled, and Darby, in 1538, nominated three Fellows on the new foundation, one

being Richard Bruarne, B.A., February 8, 1538, afterwards Regius Professor of Hebrew.

PUBLIC EVENTS.

For the last years of this period, December 7, 1527, to August 26, 1532, the Rector, Cottisford, served as Vice-Chancellor, by appointment of the Chancellor, Archbishop Warham. Cottisford can hardly have been an old man, for he took B.A. only in 1505; but he seems to have been of a timid and gentle spirit, and for that reason was probably kept in office by Warham, who was averse to violent measures. He had trouble enough in his office. In 1527, Thomas Garret, M.A. 1524, now a preacher in London, came down to Oxford to revive the spirits of the Lutherans, drooping under the severities exercised against them in the preceding year. He brought with him copies of William Tyndale's English New Testament, just published (1526) at Wittenberg, which he industriously dispersed. Warham sent peremptory letters for his arrest, and for seizure of his books, towards the great bonfire he intended to have, at Smithfield, of copies of the new version. The Proctors, having secured Garret, gave him to Cottisford for safe-keeping. Cottisford locked him in his rooms, and went to evening chapel. On his return, he found the bird flown, Garret's friends having slipped in and released him. Garret went straight to Anthony Dalaber of Gloucester Hall, who gave him a disguise to escape in. Agitated by his secret, Dalaber must needs go abroad to whisper the news to his Lutheran friends, and, in his progress, wishing to communicate with the leader of the Oxford Lutherans, John Clark, of Cardinal Wolsey's

College, he went there and found the evening service begun. He took his stand obscurely in the choir door, and was soon followed by Cottisford, in haste to communicate the escape of his prisoner, and in terror of the consequences. What followed is, in Dalaber's narrative, one of the most striking scenes in Oxford history.

"As I stood there, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, as fast as ever he could go, bareheaded, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough). And to the Dean" (John Higden) "he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what I know not, but I might truly guess. I went aside from the choir door to see and hear more. The Commissary" (*i.e.*, Cottisford) "and Dean came out of the choir, wonderfully troubled as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London" (John, Warden of New College) "puffing, blustering and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile; but the Commissary was much blamed by them, insomuch that he wept for sorrow."

Dalaber was suspected, brought before the Vice-Chancellor, with Higden and London to keep him up to the mark, and their threats so terrified him that he confessed the names of about twenty who had bought books from Garret. Many of these made no denial, and the books were seized.

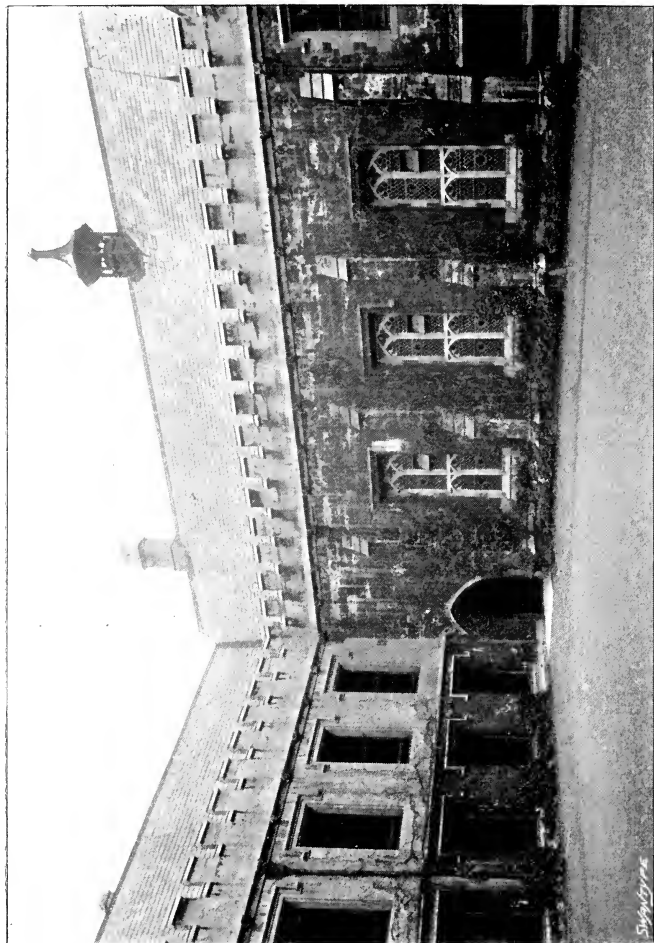
Wolsey's anger was hot against the heretical members of his own College, and by his orders they were taken by the Vice-Chancellor into safe custody. Lincoln College had not been built for a jail, and the securest place Cottisford could think of, was a great, deep, dark, cellar under his own rooms, where the store of salt fish,

necessarily large in those ages of strict observance of Lent and other fasting days, was kept. Here the darkness and the bad air are said to have sown in some of them seeds of disease, of which they died soon after.

An old College legend made Lincoln haunted by Garret's ghost (he was burnt at Smithfield in 1541); but, by mistaking the original Rector's Lodgings for those occupied by Cottisford, it sent him to make plaintive noises in the Tower.

POVERTY OF THE COLLEGE.

In 1534 a return was made to Henry VIII. of College revenues, with a view to the collecting of first-fruits and tenths. In this Magdalen College appears with a yearly revenue of £1066 per annum; New College, with £877; but Lincoln with only £101. The value of the Rectorship is a trifle under £20; of a fellowship, under £5.



From a Photo by the

Plate II

HALL AND LIBRARY

[Oxford Camera Club

CHAPTER V

THE REFORMATION

Rectors (9th to 11th from the Foundation): Hugh Weston, 1539-1556; Christopher Hargreaves, 1556-1558; Henry Henshaw, 1558-1560.

It was the plain policy of a Catholic College, like Lincoln, to submit to the ordinances of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., knowing that their deaths would soon bring the accession of the devotedly Catholic Mary Tudor. Accordingly, I find no expulsions or resignations, through all the tests now imposed: only sullen submission, and then joyful return to the old customs, when Mary came to the throne.

HUGH WESTON'S RECTORSHIP.

Hugh Weston, one of the first Dudley exhibitioners at Oriel College, 1529, was elected Fellow of Lincoln, 1531, and Rector of Lincoln in January 1539. He resigned his rectorship, August 1556, having been for about a year Dean of Windsor. He died December 5, 1558.

In September 1555, John White, Bishop of Lincoln, "visited" the College. One of the Orders he then issued reveals the deplorable effects of the troubles of the time. "On account of the scarcity of graduates in

the University, the College may, for this time only, elect undergraduates into fellowships, to have no vote till they take B.A." Four undergraduates were then elected. Another Order was that Fellows at their admission should enter their name and age in the College Register. This was kept up only till 1559. Of nine Fellows entered in that time, one is eighteen, two are nineteen, four are twenty, and one is twenty-one. The age of another is not stated, an odd commentary on the inability of those times to keep a register.

Weston's place in history is more assured than pleasant. It was his misfortune to be chairman of the Commission before which the three Bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under pretence of a disputation, were baited by their triumphant opponents, both in the Divinity School and in St. Mary's, in April 1554. Weston was possibly nominated to the place by Christopher Hargreaves of Lincoln, one of the Proctors this year.

RECTORSHIP OF CHRISTOPHER HARGREAVES.

Christopher Hargreaves, elected Fellow in 1548, and Rector 1556, died in October 1558, and was buried in All Saints' Church.

He had a great reputation among the Romanist party as a disputant, as may be seen from the following "character" of the champions of the Schools of the day.

Of the persons here mentioned, the Lincoln pair are Anthony Atkyns, Fellow 1546-1550; and Christopher Hargreaves. The others are: of Merton, Thomas

Reynolds, Warden 1545-1559, Vice-Chancellor 1556; David de la Hyde and John Wolley, Fellows; of Oriel, William Alyn, afterwards Cardinal, and, perhaps, Robert Hewys; of All Souls, Francis Babington, afterwards Rector of Lincoln, and William Johnson, Fellow 1543; Robert Wood, Fellow of Balliol, 1556; of Corpus, Richard Edwards, afterwards of the Chapel Royal, and William Mugge. The paper is by an unknown writer, contemporary with the suppression of the Monasteries. The schools, &c., in question belonged to Osney Abbey.

“The last pulling downe of all the howses, halls, and such like, and schollers’ howses, was the Schole Strets of Art joyninge to the Divinity Schole, to the number of 4 or 5 Scholes, which townesmen bought and pulled them downe and made gardens of them, and toke away the tiles and the timber to furnish there owne houses, in King Edward’s time, to the great discouragment of schollars which used to dispute therein, till Queen Mary came, and then Dr. Raynols, a worthy man, did his endeavour to the utmost to set up the Schooles againe, and disputations according to the old order, and the Scholes which remayned unspoyled he repayred and planked them and wainscotted them all about the Schoole. And in Lent appointed places in the Divinity Schoole for schollars to disput in, for to supply the want of them which were pulled downe. And the best scholemen for Logick and Philosophy were Newe Colledge men; and Oriall Colledge men, as Allyn and Hewayn; Merton Colledge, as Daliehide and Wollaide; Allsoules Coll., as Babington and Johnson; Bayly Coll., Wood; and Corpus Christi Coll., as Edwards, afterwarde of the Chapple, Mugge, with others; Lyncolne Coll., as Atkyns and Hargrave, etc. But Magdalen Coll. and

Christ Church were hissed out as men of no grounde in disputations, but good rhetoricians."

RECTORSHIP OF HENRY HENSHAW.

Henry Henshaw, or Heronshaw, Fellow of Lincoln 1544-1552, Fellow of Magdalen 1555, B.D. Magd. 1557, was elected Rector October 24, 1558, and ejected by Elizabeth's Visitors about the middle of 1560.

The close of his rectorship is notable because of a pathetic entry in the College register, revealing the hopelessness of the outlook, after Mary's death, in a Catholic college.

"A.D. 1558, mense Novembris, obierunt Domina sanctissimæ memoriæ, Maria, Angliæ regina, et Reginaldus Poolus, Cardinalis et Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Defunctæ prioris corpus sepeliebatur in Westmonasterio Londini; alterius vero in cathedrali ecclesia Cant.: utriusque eodem die, nempe 14^o Decembris supradicti anni. Hoc tempore hi erant Rector et Socii Coll. Linc. Oxon.

Mr. Henricus Henshaw, S.T. B., Coll. Rector.

Mr. Ri. Bernard, Sub-rector.

Mr. T. Atkynson.

Mr. J. Fuxe.

Mr. J. Wydmerpoole.

* Ds. W. Rousewell.

Ds. John Best.

Gul. Lambe, non-graduatus.

Ds. Ant. Wright.

Ds. Henricus Hull.

Ds. Robert Tinbie."

* Ds. = Dominus, the Latin title of a B.A.

CHAPTER VI

YEARS OF STAGNATION

Rectors (12th to 15th from the Foundation): Francis Babington, 1560-1563; John Bridgewater, 1563-1574; John Tatham, 1574-1576; John Underhill, 1577-1590.

THE Reformation brought for the time being nothing but evil to Lincoln. All that the College had hitherto done, and indeed been founded to do, was now, by the statutes of the realm, impious and penal. But statutes are powerless to compel conviction, and so the Fellows set themselves in what was now a professedly Protestant Society to train up champions of the old faith.

VISITATION BY ELIZABETH'S COMMISSIONERS.

At the end of June 1559, a Royal Commission came to regulate the University, its chief man being Richard Cox, formerly Dean of Christ Church, now Bishop of Ely, who had served on Edward VI.'s Commission. The duties of this Commission were very simple, to remove from College chapels and parish churches such "Popish" ornaments as had been placed there during the late reign, to restore to their places all who had been expelled by Queen Mary's Commissioners, and to remove from Headship or Fellowship all who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, ordered by Elizabeth's first Parliament.

Among the many Heads who resigned rather than acknowledge the queen to be supreme governor of England "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporal," was the Rector of Lincoln, Henry Henshaw. Some five of the eleven Fellows may have gone out at the same time, but we cannot be certain, the records being so incomplete.

RECTORSHIP OF FRANCIS BABINGTON.

It was the policy of Elizabeth's advisers to break the continuity of College feeling by thrusting in outsiders into the Headships. This plan sometimes succeeded, though at a sad cost to the harmony of the Colleges. But in other cases it failed, through the fact that those appointed were in secret firm to their old allegiance. Lincoln was of this second sort.

Francis Babington, Fellow of All Souls, B.D. 1558, chaplain to Sir Robert Dudley, soon to be Earl of Leicester, being pushed on by his patron, was appointed Master of Balliol in place of the ejected Head in September 1559, and next year transferred to the Rectorship of Lincoln (August 1560), appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity, and nominated Vice-Chancellor.

As Vice-Chancellor he had several troubles from the refusal of the Fellows of various colleges to admit the new Heads without compulsion. In one of these the members of his own College must have taken a part, to us now unknown, but at the time conspicuous, since we find in 1562 four members of the College taken up before the Privy Council for a riot.

As Rector of the College Babington did nothing to

discourage Romanism, and, finding his fidelity to his patrons suspected, he resigned his Rectorship in the beginning of 1563. In 1565 he was deprived of his benefices for Romanism. He died in 1569. I do not find that any Fellows left with him.

According to the well-known story it was a slip of the tongue in a sermon that first brought Babington under suspicion. When Dudley caused his wife, the unfortunate Amy Robsart, to be buried in St. Mary's Church, to quiet the ugly whispers of the district, Babington, his chaplain, had to preach the funeral sermon (September 1560). He hesitated in a sentence, seeking the proper phrase for a violent death, and before he was aware out came the word which was in all men's thoughts: "I recommend to your memories this virtuous lady, so pitifully *murdered*."

JOHN BRIDGEWATER'S RECTORSHIP.

External authority again imposed a stranger on the College but, as before, authority was mistaken in its man. John Bridgewater, M.A. from Brasenose in 1556, a pluralist in canonries and rectories, was chosen to fill the vacancy. His "election," or rather acceptance by the Fellows, took place on April 14, 1563, and soon the College became permeated with Romanist feeling.

The chief external event of this Rectorship was the State visit (p. 25) of Queen Elizabeth, September 1566.

The popular suspicion of the College as a Romanist seminary was shown in a ludicrous incident, which introduced a custom destined to be honoured through two succeeding centuries. All who have dipped into

old parish accouuts will remember the annual payments for ringing the church bells on, in churchwarden's English, "the Crownation-day." Brian Twyne tells this story :

"Memorandum that Mr. Wirdescue told me, the 2 of Aprill 1610, that the use of ringing uppon the Coronation day was never used here in Englande before the time of Queene Elizabeth, in whose fortenth yeare of her raigne [1571] or thereabouts, it began first in Oxford, thus. St. Hugh's day [Nov. 17] beinge a gaudy day in Lyncolne College, the masters and the other company after their gaudies and feastinge went to ringe at Allhallowes, for exercise sake. Mr. Waite beinge then mayor of Oxford and dwellinge thereabouts, beinge much displeased with their ringinge (for he was a great precisian) came to the Church to knowe the cause of the ringinge. And at length beinge let in by the ringers, who had shut the doores privately to themselves, he demanded of them the cause of their ringinge, charginge them with popery, that they rang for a *dirige* for Queen Mary, etc., because she died upon that day. The most part answered that they did it for exercise ; but one, seeinge his fellowes pressed by the mayor so neere, answered that they runge not for Queen Marie's *dirige* but for joy of Queen Elizabeth's coronation and that that was the cause of the ringinge. Whereuppon the mayor goinge away, in spite of that answer, caused Karfox bells to be runge, and the rest as many as he could command, and so the custom grewe."

Bridgewater's deprivation took place July 20, 1574. He retired to the Continent, entered the Society of Jesus, and wrote narratives of the sufferings of the Catholics, which followed on Pope Pius V.'s excommunication of the queen and absolution of her subjects

from their allegiance, and the startling activity of the members of his own Society. Among these martyrs of the Roman church, Bridgewater must have been proud to rank one of his Lincoln pupils, Walter Harte, Traps scholar 1571, hanged, drawn, and quartered at York in 1583. Among the other Lincoln men who went abroad for religion with, or before, the Rector, we may mention John Gibbon, Commoner in 1561, afterwards Rector of the Jesuit College at Triers; William Harris, Fellow 1566-1572, who went to Douay; and Thomas Marshall, Fellow 1562-1567, who went to Rome. But the one whom the highest promotion awaited over seas, was William Gifford. Entering Lincoln as a Commoner about 1570, he asked his B.A. in 1573, but was refused, as a "suspect." In 1622 he became Archbishop of Rheims, "a duke and the first peer of France," and of ability to found two houses in France for the reception of English Benedictines. He died 1629. Lincoln has thus furnished a Primate of England (Potter) and a Primate of France.

Bridgewater's name is still held in honour by his co-religionists.

TRAPS SCHOLARSHIPS.

Before we pass on in the narrative, we must note a foundation of Bridgewater's time, the first of a series still too restricted.

On July 30, 1568, Roger Manwood, serjeant-at-law 1567, founder of the grammar school at Sandwich in Kent, as executor of the will of Joan Traps, widow, conveyed to the College lands at Whitstable, Kent, of the estimated value of £11 6s. 8d., of which £10 13s. 4d. was to be paid in even portions to four poor scholars in

Lincoln, to be called "the Schollers of Robert Trapps, of London, gouldsmith, and Jone his wife." One of these was to be from Sandwich school, nominated by the Governors. Of him it was specified that he shall be one "whose parents are not conveniently able to find him at the University, and soe competently understanding the Latin tongue as he then shall be thought a meet scholar" for the place. The balance was to go to the College.

SANDWICH GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

In the same deed Roger Manwood provided that, after his own death, the master of his school should be nominated by the College. This brought about a connection between Sandwich and Lincoln College, which was more or less kept up till the present century. The school was poorly endowed, but the Corporation always presented the new master to one of the town churches which was in their gift. The Act which ordered municipal bodies to part with their patronage, at last rendered it not worth while for any graduate to accept the mastership.

This mastership unites Sandwich school and Lincoln College in the joint ownership of a distinguished name. Richard Knolles, Fellow 1566-1572, was afterwards master of the school, where, in twelve years, he wrote "The History of the Turks," published at London in 1610. This book furnishes us with a remarkable chapter in the history of the misfortunes of authors. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was so struck by the vividness of the description of the battle of Lepanto, 1571, that he sent for Knolles and questioned him about the authorship. Knolles honestly said that that chapter

was not from his own pen, but that a young man, hearing what he was writing, came "and desired he might write that, having been in the action." Cecil's spies were set to work to find the young man, but when they came at last on him, they were too late. Poverty had led him to crime and Newgate: "he was hanged but a fourteen night before." Dates are kind to this story; the only supposition needed is that Burghley read the work in MS.

RECTORSHIP OF JOHN TATHAM.

Yet another outsider was brought in to govern the College by Leicester the all-powerful Chancellor of the University. John Tatham, Fellow of Merton 1563, M.A. 1567, was "elected" in July 1574.

The one record of this Rectorship is that the College was still under suspicion of Romanism. In 1575 Hugh Weston, a second of these names, Fellow 1573-1577, was refused his M.A. "papismi suspectus," and when he was allowed it July 6, 1577, he had to lay before the University authorities his assent to the XXXIX Articles.

INTRUSION OF JOHN UNDERHILL.

John Tatham was buried in All Saints Church November 20, 1576. His place was supplied by the "election," June 22, 1577, of John Underhill, ex-Fellow of New College. The only College record of his appointment is the peaceful one, "electus unanimi consensu præsentium," and if it stood alone we should be left to wonder why the election was so long delayed, and why the statutes had been once more set aside and a stranger chosen.

Fortunately, into the Register of Convocation of the

University, a singular document has been transcribed, which strips the mask off the politics of the age. Here we learn that this appointment made more noise in the world than any other, that the Fellows most vigorously resisted it, even (Twyne says) keeping the gate by force of arms, and that the foul wrong done to the College goaded the University into something like revolt.

We may give the text of this document in full, so far as it concerns Lincoln College. It shows us, without any disguise, the shameless selfishness of the queen's courtiers. No sooner does a place fall vacant but every one has a creature of his own to push for it, regardless of provisions of statutes and rights of electors. The sole point of honour among the bandits is that the one who has first waylaid the victim is to be allowed to rifle his pockets without interference from the others.

The persons here mentioned are : Robert Dudley, the favourite, created Earl of Leicester in 1563, and Chancellor of Oxford since 1564; the Vice-Chancellor, Herbert Westphaling, canon of Christ Church ; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the concussible Edmund Grindal, newly translated from York ; the Bishop of Lincoln (1571-1584), the timid and contemptible Thomas Cowper, afterwards to be scourged by Martin Marprelate when Bishop of Winchester as he had been by Oxford lampoons when Master of Magdalen College school ; the Bishop of Rochester, John Piers, now on the wing to Salisbury ; and two creatures of Leicester's, Walter Baily, Regius Professor of Medicine, and Martin Culpeper, Warden of New College. To these we have to add the candidates : Edmund Lyly, Fellow of Magdalen College since 1563, afterwards (1580) Master

of Balliol ; William Wilson, Fellow of Merton 1565–1575 ; and, the only one qualified by statute, John Gibson, Fellow of Lincoln since 1571, M.A. 1573.

It need hardly be added that the precedents referred to by Leicester are those of his own tyrannical making in the three preceding elections.

“ After my harty commendacions.

“ I receyvid a lettre of late from my Lord Archbishoppe of Canterbury’s grace, written to hym from certeine Bachilers of Divinity and Masters of Arts of your Universty, ‘ movid even with very compassion they felt in them selves and assurance of hys inclinatyon to pytye,’ as they write, ‘ to sollicite hys Grace against a wonderfull sute, a straunge, preiudiciall, and terryble example to all elections in theyr common weale,’ as they saye, ‘ with an universalle requeste of hys due consyderation of that miserable estate, and with hope by helpe of lawe and hys countenaunce, as their only patrone in thys behalf and defendor of equity against all iniquity, wronge, and violence, to obteyne justice and an end of thos inormytyes,’ etc.

“ The matter concernithe the election in Lincolne Colledge, and the person as muche or more then any other touched therin I cannot take to be but my self, havinge dealte, as the most of youe knowe I have donn, in that cause. Wherefore, ‘ iniquity, wronge, violence,’ and such ‘ wonderfull and terrible ’ dealings, beinge thus grevously urged therin, I have thoughte good plainly and brefly to open to you all the whole discourse of my doings in that matter ; and then to leave to your judgment wheyther I have bene well used.

“ Mr. Tatam beinge deceased, I first began my sute for Mr. Underhill, not knowinge any other man’s sute then, and wrote for hym to the Fellowes of the Colledge, to the

Byshoppe of Lincolne, and to Mr. Vicechancellor and others. Before I receyvid answeare from the fellowes, I understoode thes thyngs; that Mr. Gybson was chosen, whome the Byshopp would not admit, that the Quene's Majesty hadd written her letres to the Colledge for her sub-almoner, that my Lord of Canterbury dealt for Mr. Willson, that a chaplaine of the Byshopp of Lyncolne was in lykelyhood to obtaine yt, that Mr. Lyly was also a sutor for the same and in some possibilyty to speede.

"In this state of the matter I receyvid lettres from fowre of the Fellowes of the Colledge signifyng to me that yf the former election of Mr. Gybson provid voide, and the sub-almoner were causid to cease his suite, that then they would choose Mr. Underhill. Mr. Gibson hym self, not beinge present at the writinge of this letre, made the same promisse to Dr. Bailye and Dr. Cullepeper, who signified yt to me; and so weare the promisers fyve of nine fellowes. Thys promisse I acceptyd, and gave them thanks by lettre for yt.

"The electyon of Mr. Gibson provid voide. I dealte with the Byshopp of Rochester, who had procurid the Quene's lettres for hys chaplaine, the sub-amner. He causid hym to cease hys suite. I wrot to the Byshopp of Lincolne touchinge hys chaplaine; he dyd the like. I dealt with Mr. Lylye; he ceasid also. I wrott to Mr. Wilson; he made promisse to give over, as Dr. Bailly telleth me, and promisid with hande writinge that he would procure such voices as favourid hym for Mr. Underhill, which hys writinge and subscription with hys owne hande, as yt ys tould me, ys yet to showe.

"What I hitherto have offendid I knowe not. I beganne the suite for an honest man, your proctor, my chaplaine; and indede I was the rather a dealer for hym in thys, because I thoughte he hadd bene hardly dealt with in hys

Colledge a little before. And I beganne yt when no man els was knowen to have medlid in yt. I continuyd yt to thys pointe that you heare of, withe approbation of the more parte of the fellowes, with consent of all thos that made lyke suite for yt, with promys of the rest of the fellowes' likinge by hym whome they favourid and who (yt was not doubtid) but might promys for them ; and so, as then appearid, without contradiction of any man.

"It followed. Three of the Fellowes came to me with letters from the whole Colledge. I talked with them. Theyr letres and talke signified that to choose a straunger that had not bene Fellow of their howse was contrary to statute, othe, conscience, etc., with very solemne protestation to that purpos, and diffamation also of Mr. Underhyll his person. Mr. Underhill was heere. I caused hym to come yn before them, willinge them to objecte what they would against hym. Yf he weare any way worthily charged I would deale no further for hym. They could say nothings but that he was bound as suerty XL *li.* to New Colledge. We reasonnid of 'the statute, othe, conscience,' which they pretendid. I sawe no such thinge fall out. But examples they could not deny thear had bene iii or iiii to the contrarye.

"They went home, chose Mr. Gibson againe, and after hym Mr. Wilson.

"Herin whose the evell dealinge was, mine or theirs, judge you. They made me cause all men to cease theyr suites, promising to choose Mr. Underhill. I dyd so. Then they alleaged statute, othe, conscience, against choyse of a straunger. They went home and chose Mr. Wilson, who, as I understand, was no Fellow, but a stranger also.

"After thys ther very evell usage of me (as I tooke yt), my Lord of Canterbury tould me first of the election of

Mr. Wilson. Whome I aunsweairid, yf he wear lawfully chosen (as hys Grace tould me he was), I would medle no further in the matter, I would not be a hinderer of any thing lawfully donn. The self same day, at nighte, thes things wear informid me :—that after all thos promises made me for Mr. Underhill, and two dayes before Mr. Wilson had given hys hande for his furtheraunce, and a good while before the three fellowes cam upp to me, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Gibson hadd made a privy compacte betwene them of divers articles, amongst which one was that Mr. Gibson being chosen Rector should within a time, uppon resignation made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, have xx^{ty} pownds for hys labour, etc., that this was confirmid with mutuelle obligations and deposid to be true by one of the Fellowes. Also that Mr. Wilson hys election as not rightly donne was dysannulid by the Visitor, that the Byshopp therfor would not admitt hym, and that he theruppon had broughte an inhibition from the Arches to the Colledge and a double querele against the Bishopp.

“I was moved at the one, to se my self so finely dealt with, and the matter by symmoniacalle compact so cunningly conveyid. But yet I had not gonne furder therin, had not the inhibicion bene, that I dyd then take, and do nowe by good advise knowe, to be contrarye to your privileges; and therfore in defence of them have done that I did since hitherto, and will do what I may by lawe in that matter.

“And thys ys the summary truthe of my whole dealinge in this case. Which considerid of you not otherwise then it shall deserve, I leave to you to judge what I have done herin amisse, how evile the Fellowes have used me, how undiscreetely Mr. Wilson hathe dealt both in the matter and towards me and th’ Vniversitye, how ungentlely thes Bachilers of Divinity and Masters of Arte have requitid my

good will alwayes towards you by complayning to a foren judge with such undecent termes, not regardinge whome the cause might touche, as nowe you se thys dothe me. And wheither my dealings in defense of your privileges be 'terrible, wonderfull, and prejudiciall to your elections,' againste an inhibition, which by example (yf it might have passed) would have drawen all your elections and other dealings to the Arches, and so have in deede bene terrible and prejudiciall unto them.

"What my care and affection hath bene alwaies towardes your whole state in generalle and to every Colledge and person of youe in particulare, as occasion hathe bin offerid, yf my doings since I was Chauncellor have not sufficiently declarid, yet my conscience to my self ys a good witnes; and the more I knowe yt hathe bene, the lesse methinks I have deservid to be thus dealt with. I never loved nor favoured factious dealing nor have used yt in my whole course of thys action. And therfore cannot but much mislike to se the matter thus handlid. But I will dilate herin no further.

* * * * *

"So fare yee well.

Your loving frende,

"From the Courte the
viiith of Aprill 1577."

R. LEYCESTER."

In 1585 Leicester visited the College and the congratulatory Latin verses then spoken to him were printed. This sheet is one of the earliest and rarest issues of the modern Oxford press. Leicester died suddenly September 4, 1588.

In 1589 Underhill, by the interest of Sir Francis Walsingham, was raised to the long vacant See of Oxford. He resigned his Rectorship next year, died in May 1592, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral.

CHAPTER VII

THE JACOBEOAN AGE

Rector (16th from the Foundation): Richard Kilby, 1590-1620.

CONTRARY to what might have been expected from the personality of the new Rector, the history of the College during Kilby's time is far from pleasant. Its chief feature is the continual warfare between the Head and the Fellows, resulting in constant appeals to the Visitor. It is to be hoped that William Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln 1595-1608, revelled in the exercise of authority, otherwise he must have hated the very name of Lincoln College.

THE CANONIST FELLOW.

By the foundation of John Crosby one of the Fellows was appointed to be a student of canon law. This ceased at the Reformation, and the holder of the fellowship in 1591 asked to be transferred to the study of civil law and exempted from the obligation to take Orders. The Visitor, William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln 1584-1595, granted the petition September 6, 1591, but on fuller information recalled his permission December 12, 1592. The obligation to take Orders was thus continued on this fellowship, and it differed from the others only in the fact that its holder was not compelled to take B.D. John Wesley held this fellow-

ship from 1736 to 1752, and so never took B.D. In 1824 the Visitor at last allowed this one fellowship to become a lay fellowship.

Richard Shortrede, who made the request, had been elected Fellow in 1587. He resigned in consequence of the Visitor's adverse decision.

THE NUMBER OF FELLOWSHIPS.

The chief cause of contention in College was the number of fellowships. The Rector seems to have wished to take advantage of the powers given by the statutes to diminish the number of fellowships in order to increase their value. The opposite party, headed by Edmund Underhill, elected Fellow in 1590, desired to fill up the full number allowed by the statutes. A good many elections were made contrary to the wish of the Rector, and of these some were quashed by the Visitor and some allowed.

At last, Underhill, being Sub-rector in 1597, called a College meeting and secured a vote expelling Kilby from the rectorship. The Visitor annulled this decision, and re-instated Kilby.

THE PUNISHMENT OF MARMADUKE LODINGTON.

In 1600 Marmaduke Lodington, B.A. April 1592, and elected Fellow December 1592, was guilty of "sundry misdemeanours in the town to the great scandal of the College." The punishment inflicted upon him may serve as an illustration of the discipline of the times.

"Inprimis, he shall make an oration in the chapel presently after prayers in the morning on the Friday next

before the Act. His theme shall be *Vituperium ebrietatis et vitæ dissolutæ*.

“Item, he shall study in the library four hours certain days for the space of two months, his hours from eight of the clock till ten in the forenoon, and from two till four of the clock in the afternoon, his days four in the week viz., Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, except any festival day happen and then to be free unto him. His first month shall begin on Monday next, being the 16th of June: his second month to begin the Monday after the Act, being the 22nd of July. His exercise for the first month shall be to gather all the chief questions in the third book of Aristotle de Anima, and to set down the full state of them, and this, painfully and studiously done by himself, shall deliver up in writing under his hand unto the Rector and Fellows upon Thursday next after the Act, that they may see his pains and profit thereby. His exercise for the second month shall be to gather the chief questions of the first book of Aristotle his Politics, and to set down the full state of them.”

Whether Lodington performed this punishment I know not. He resigned his fellowship October 24, in this year.

EXPULSION OF EDMUND UNDERHILL.

Marmaduke Lodington had been one of Underhill's party, and his punishment perhaps roused slumbering fires of ill-will towards the Rector. At any rate in 1602, we find that whereas the Visitor had commanded him perpetual silence “in causa defamatoriæ accusationis,” apparently against the Rector, Underhill had “been so far from silence that he had used all slanderous and scandalous publication thereof.” The Visitor had put

him out of commons, but Underhill did "by violent and unseemly means take commons out of the kitchen and from the servitors and take bread and beer out of the buttery." Against other Orders of the Visitor Underhill had appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Court of Arches, and had obtained inhibitions which he personally served on the Bishop of Lincoln and on the Rector. This was not only contrary to the privileges of the University (p. 54) but in breach of the statutes of the College, which required that the Fellows should acknowledge no other judge than the Visitor. For this on May 4, 1602, Underhill was declared "no Fellow." One of these names, perhaps this man, was Vicar of Cuddesdon in 1606.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

In 1604, under the arrangements made for the new translation of the Bible agreed upon at the Hampton Court conference, an Oxford company of seven undertook the translation of the prophetic books. Of these seven two were members of Lincoln College; the Rector (Kilby), and Richard Brett, Commoner D.D. 1605. Brett was afterwards Rector of Quainton, Bucks, in which church there is an elaborate monument to him.

ELECTION OF ROBERT SANDERSON.

At this time the roll of Fellows received one of its most famous names under sufficiently odd circumstances.

The old quarrel about the number of Fellows had been revived. In April 1606, the Visitor ordered that

there should be twelve Fellows, each receiving 1s. 4d. a week for commons. At the beginning of May there were only three Fellows left, the Rector counting as a fourth. On May 6, 1606, eight Fellows were therefore elected. One of them, Philip Pregon, resigned his fellowship in 1610, and is perhaps the official of that name who made transcripts for Brian Twyne from the Cathedral muniments at Lincoln. The eighth and last, and certainly not least, name is that of Robert Sanderson.

Sanderson had entered Lincoln College in 1603, and had taken B.A. in January 1605. He was Proctor in 1616. He resigned his fellowship in 1619, being beneficed. He was elected Bishop of Lincoln, October 17, 1660, and died January 29, 1663. One of his last public acts was, as Visitor of Lincoln College, to appoint commissioners to decide in a disputed fellowship election. William Adams, B.A. Wadham, was elected Fellow December 13, 1662, but the place was claimed by some of the Fellows for Christopher Pike, M.A. Linc. 1660. Sanderson, January 10, 1663, being ill, issued a commission to John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, and others, to try the case. They decided in Adams's favour. Sanderson's Life is an English classic, being from the pen of Isaac Walton.

ADMISSION OF FELLOW-COMMONERS.

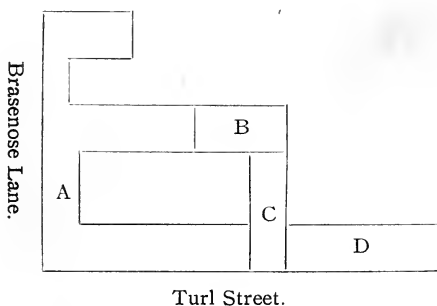
The same year, 1606, witnessed the introduction of a new order of members, the Fellow-commoners. These were to be "the sons of lords, knights, and gentlemen of good place in the Commonwealth." They were to be socially on an equality with the Fellows "at their table,

garden, and other public places," and "shall not go bow in the College to the Fellows." At their admission, they were to pay the College at least £4, and as much more as they liked, to be expended as a memorial of them, in plate or books. "And if they will use any napkins at table in the Hall, they shall, at the time of their admission, deliver to the Bursar either half a dozen new napkins, or six shillings to buy the same."

The first Fellow-commoner was admitted on November 8, 1606. He was Richard Berry, who had taken his B.A. in July that year. He took his M.B. degree in 1614.

THE NEW BUILDINGS.

In 1608 and 1609, the College was increased by the addition of the west side of the present Chapel quadrangle.



A. Forest's buildings, 1437. B. Beckington's buildings, 1467. C. Bishop Rotheram's buildings, 1479. D. The new buildings, 1609.

These buildings, yielding about twelve additional "chambers," were mainly the gift of Thomas Rotheram, who was Fellow 1586-1593. He matriculated at

Lincoln in 1584, as the son of a Bedfordshire squire, aged 16; took B.A. in 1588, and M.A. in 1591. He was of kin to the second founder, being descended from that brother to whom the Archbishop had bequeathed his estate at Luton, Beds. Other contributors to the work were, Sir Peter Manwood of Sandwich, who gave £30, and Richard Franklin, esq. of Middlesex, who gave £20. Sir Peter was son of Roger Manwood, founder of Sandwich school. Richard Franklin may perhaps be connected with Mrs. Joyce Frankland, Mrs. Traps's daughter. So that in this building the College benefited by its connection with Sandwich school.

The style of these new buildings is simple and pleasing. In the interior of the quadrangle they have had the good fortune to escape the monstrous addition of battlements, and are one of the prettiest bits in the College. Loggan's view gives a good idea of them.

NUMBERS IN COLLEGE.

We have in this period the very rare opportunity of learning something definite about the numbers in College, from the censuses of the University in 1605, on the occasion of King James's visit; in 1611, by request of Prince Henry; and in 1612.

In 1605, when the total number is 2254, Lincoln is eighteenth on the list with 54. In 1611, total 2421, Lincoln is tenth with 101. In 1612, total 2920, Lincoln is twelfth with 109. We must, no doubt, assume that these figures give the number "on the book," rather than those in actual residence. But making a considerable allowance for that, it seems that, to accommodate the rest, we must put two, at least, into a room.

THE LINCOLN POET LAUREATE.

In the very last year of Kilby's Rectorship, the College received among its members the most famous of its poets, Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureate next after Ben Jonson and before John Dryden. I have come across no College record of Davenant's admission; but it is vouched for both by John Aubrey, who was an intimate friend of Sir William's elder brother Robert, and by Anthony Wood, who is able to name his tutor, Daniel Hough.

William Davenant was son of the host of the Crown Inn in Cornmarket Street, where Shakespeare was wont to put up in his journeys from London to his native Stratford-on-Avon. He was born in 1606, and, at least if we can believe the statements of his friends and a certain scurrile jest of the age, had Shakespeare for his god-father. He entered Lincoln in 1620, but soon left for a page's place in the household of the Duchess of Richmond. After service in the Civil War on the king's side, exile in France, and danger of a halter from the Parliament on his return, he began an operatic performance in London in 1656. After the Restoration, he introduced the regular drama, was manager of "the Duke of York's Company" of players, and wrote numerous tragedies, comedies, and tragi-comedies in the taste of the day.

He "made his last exit" April 7, 1668, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, "on a paving stone of marble, is writ, in imitation of that on Ben Jonson,

'O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT.' "

CHAPTER VIII

LAUD'S CHANCELLORSHIP

Rector (the 17th from the Foundation) : Paul Hood, 1621-1668.

THE years during which William Laud was Chancellor of the University (1630, to June 1641), form a remarkable epoch in the annals of Lincoln.

THE CONTEST FOR THE CHANCELLORSHIP.

In 1630, the Chancellor of the University, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, died suddenly. His nativity had been cast by Thomas Allen (1542-1632), the famous Oxford mathematician and astrologer, who found that the stars fixed April 10, 1630, as the day of his patron's death. Pembroke was at the time at his London house in perfect health, and, in jocose remembrance of the prediction, made on that day "a great supper, and went to his bed well, but died in his sleep"—apoplexy. "He was," John Aubrey testifies, "a most magnificent and brave peer, and loved learned men."

The Puritan party, quite taken by surprise, knew that they must not lose a moment. So the late Chancellor's brother, who now succeeded him in the earldom of Pembroke, Philip, Earl of Montgomery, was that same day put forward as their candidate. John

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln since 1621, the chief champion of moderate measures on the bench of bishops, made strenuous efforts on his behalf. He was Visitor of Balliol, Brasenose, Exeter, and Lincoln (and on the last he had recently established, as shall be seen, the strongest claims); and he wrote to all four urging them to support Pembroke. His word had great influence with his compatriots, the Welsh members of the University, already by national sentiment favourable to the house of Herbert; and he had them also canvassed.

But the High Church party were too prompt for their rivals. They had a strong candidate ready to hand in William Laud, Bishop of London since 1628, who had recently been employed by the late Chancellor in effecting various reforms in the Statutes of the University. The Vice-Chancellor, Accepted Frewen, President of Magdalen, was, despite his Puritan name, a keen partisan of Laud's. He fixed the election for the earliest possible day, April 12; and Laud was chosen.

CONDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

According to Laud himself the manners and morals of the University were at this time very corrupt. The taverns were all day and all night full of scholars, both juniors and seniors, engaged in drinking and gambling. "The University was extremely sunk from all discipline, and fallen into all licentiousness."

It is not necessary to enlarge on this. One example goes as far as many lines of disquisition, and the College books unhappily supply an example sufficiently conspicuous.

Gilbert Wats was Fellow of Lincoln (1611–1657), and B.D. (1623).

“He was a person that understood several languages well, was esteemed an excellent wit, and a master of so smooth a pen whether in Latin or English that no man of his time exceeded him.”

In 1636 he had several times had words with the Rector. Once “in the chapel, before the Fellows,” he told him “that he spoke like a mouse in a cheese”; and on another occasion, that “setting his scarlet,” *i.e.*, his D.D. gown, “aside, he was as good a man as himself.” To be avenged of these personal affronts, Hood brought forward graver delinquencies which otherwise might have remained unnoticed, *viz.*, that

“on Low Sunday last [April 24, 1636,], on the same day having administered the communion to Robert Serjant and his wife, he did come, between 9 and 10 of the clock at night, into the said R. Serjant’s house, much distempered with drink, railing on him and his wife.”

Serjeant was College cook, resigning that office in 1662. The College meeting found the offence proved, and Wats was “put out of commons,” *i.e.*, in the modern equivalent, deprived of his dining allowances, for three months, and threatened with expulsion if he again transgressed.

To reform the crying evils of the time Laud directed the University statutes to be zealously enforced. He kept urging successive Vice-Chancellors and Proctors to bestir themselves, and to “walk” continually, *i.e.*, to go the round of the streets and search the taverns for scholars.

His success was questionable. In 1639 he had to admit that the evil had only shifted its camp.

“The scholars (not excepting the seniors) being hunted out of alehouses and taverns by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors constant walking, they have their meetings in their private chambers not only for bibbing but gaming.”

THE MUZZLING ORDER.

As Chancellor, Laud wielded immense power. The appointment of Vice-Chancellors rested with him, and he took care to appoint only such Heads as would zealously co-operate with him in suppressing “factions preaching,” the chief form in which rebellion in the University lifted its head against authority. And far from trusting to their personal zeal, he required that they should send him weekly reports of University affairs and carry out his instructions in return.

There were the king's orders against preaching about the engrossing topics of the day, the disputed points between Calvin and Arminius. These Laud professed himself resolved to have respected. But the Puritans soon found that this meant that while they were to be effectually muzzled, their adversaries might bark their fill.

Let a young Puritan preacher, zealous for his party and ambitious of attention, attack in his sermon any Arminian tenet, or Church ceremony, he found the Vice-Chancellor demanding a “true copy” of his discourse, and a committee of D.D.'s to testify that he had preached on the forbidden doctrines. Then, unless he was willing to endure expulsion, he had on bended knees before the whole Convocation of the University

to apologise for his temerity. Those who tried to brave it out, found Laud at the Vice-Chancellor's back, and, if that were not enough, the king was called in. A very few, emboldened by the applause of their party, refused submission, and, so to speak, "shook the dust of Oxford from their feet," leaving the University for good. But they discovered that matters did not end here. From Berwick to Land's End, Laud's letters had gone before them and no patron dared prefer them nor bishop grant them institution to a benefice. Even the highest heads of the party were covered with contumely. There was no man of greater name or popularity than John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter (1612), Regius Professor of Divinity (1615); but even he was sharply censured by the king (July 23, 1631), who declared that "Dr. Prideaux deserved to lose his place."

On the other hand, if the young bloods of the opposite party abused the Synod of Dort (which condemned Arminius) or girded at the practices of Geneva, nothing happened; they were even applauded. Or if any were so exceedingly violent as to call public attention to him in a marked way, he was admitted to a private admonition.

And thus, cowed but not subdued, and driven from the University to the country, the fierceness of Puritan oratory and objection to ceremonies was forced to bide its time.

It was under these circumstances that a Lincoln preacher (Richard Kilby, Fellow 1613-1642) found that a lazy fit got him into trouble enough. It was his turn to preach the University sermon at St. Mary's at

7 A.M. on Tuesday, January 30, 1638. The Vice-Chancellor at once accused him of touching on the Arminian controversy and demanded an apology. This Kilby gave, but naïvely added that "the selfsame sermon he had preached in St. Mary's pulpit 16 years before, and then it was well approved of."

The Vice-Chancellor's zeal to punish Calvinism in a Lincoln preacher had perhaps been quickened by the fact that only a few weeks before several junior members of the College had taken a very disorderly way of advertising their Puritanical sympathies. The Rector of Carfax, Giles Widdowes, was a known High Churchman, and as he was reading evening prayer on December 13, 1637, Thomas Springet, B.A., and eleven undergraduates, all of Lincoln, thrust into the church and made a disturbance. They were punished by loss of terms for their degree, and certainly might think themselves lucky, since in 1638, for being part of a crowd which hissed and hooted an unpopular outgoing proctor (Daniel Lawford of Oriel), several undergraduates were at Laud's instigation "publicly whipt."

THE DECLARATION OF SPORTS.

The offence Charles gave by re-issuing at Laud's instance his father's obnoxious "declaration concerning recreations on the Lord's day," and by requiring it to be read in churches, need not be dwelt upon. But it raised in Lincoln College a very nice point of ecclesiastical law.

The services in St. Michael's at North Gate, one of the parent churches, were undertaken by a chaplain appointed by and removable by the Rector, and it was

claimed that this chaplain, like the rest of the members of the College, was exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Oxford and subject only to the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln.

The chaplain in 1633 was Nathaniel Wight, M.A. Magdalen Hall (1631), and, of course, a Puritan. On December 15, 1633, John Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, sent Hood a form of suspension to be pronounced against Wight. Hood promptly raised the question of jurisdiction, and the College agreed to allow the reading of the suspension only on condition that a clause should be inserted so that "the jurisdiction of the College and our Visitor should not be prejudiced." To this the Bishop agreed, but when his vicar-general, Richard Zouch, Doctor of Laws, read the sentence of suspension in St. Michael's on December 23, 1633, no such clause was added. The College made a minute of the bishop's breach of faith, and to avoid any complications Hood removed Wight from the chaplaincy.

In April 1634 the College ordered the declaration to be read in St. Michael's by the new and more complaisant chaplain; but repeated its protest that "we are not under the jurisdiction of My Lord of Oxon."

LAUD AS VISITOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE.

Towards the end of his Chancellorship Laud was accidentally brought into direct relations with the College. His rival, John Williams, was under suspension in 1639, and his functions as Visitor of the College, among others, fell to his Metropolitan. Laud in this capacity was called upon to intervene in two long-standing disputes in College.

THE CASE OF JOHN TIREMAN.

John Tireman was a *protégé* of Bishop Williams, and, no doubt, Hood thought that Laud would show him scant favour.

On March 26, 1626, Williams, probably on some appeal from the College against suspending fellowships, had ordered the College to fill up vacancies. His order has a special interest, because it makes it plainly appear that a fellowship at this time might easily fall below £20 in annual value. He adds to his mandate this proviso : “if any diminution of means shall happen in the College so as the Fellows’ places shall not amount to £20 a year, the B.D.s shall not endure the burthen thereof, but it shall rather lie upon the junior Fellows that now are to be elected.”

Since John Tireman (B.A. Queen’s, 1621 ; M.A. Linc. 1624), was one of two Fellows elected May 11, 1626, in obedience to this mandate, it is probable, in the light of subsequent events, that it was in his interest that the Visitor had acted.

Tireman was personally disagreeable in College, as two odd incidents will show. In December 1632, Robert Crosse (Fellow 1627-1653) had to make a public apology in chapel, in the following terms :—

“Whereas I lately composed certain slanderous verses which did reflect upon Mr. Tireman’s person and tend to his prejudice, as also have divulged the said verses and read them to diverse of my scholars, I declare my folly, etc.”

Six months later Tireman proposed, in Congregation, a grace for a degree which the Sub-rector (Thomas

Read) had refused ; and “ also in very insolent manner, publicly, in the vestry at St. Mary’s, opposed the Sub-rector informing the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of his just exception ” against the candidate.

At the close of 1632, Tireman had obtained a small benefice, which, in the strict terms of the Statutes, ought to have vacated his fellowship. But he got about half the Fellows to sign a petition to the Visitor, asking relief from the Statute. Hood, on the contrary, wrote to the Visitor that the Statute in question was “ plain, and peremptory, and altogether indispensable.” The Visitor snubbed Hood for presuming to dictate his answer, and ordered no proceedings to be taken against Tireman, “ until I have further declared myself in that point wherein my judgment is requested.”

Afterwards, Williams expressed himself unwilling to change the Statute, but, to help Tireman, still suspended its operation.

In 1634, Read, again Sub-rector, took it upon him to expel Tireman for breach of the Statute. But the Visitor replaced him, and sharply censured both Read and his supporter, John Webberly (Fellow 1632-1648). Read now left the College ; and Webberly later on tried Sandwich school, March-September 1638, but liked it not and returned.

On Williams’s suspension in 1639, Hood sent his version of the affair to Laud. Then, professing to follow Laud’s instructions, he required Tireman to “ make it absolutely appear that he had resigned his vicarage of Grandborough (near Winslow in Bucks), into my Lord Keeper’s [Williams] hands ; ” and, on his refusing to do so, expelled him. Laud, a few days later (April 20,

1639), restored Tireman, but "put him out of commons" for a month, probably for some want of respect to the Rector. He continued Fellow till 1642.

THE CASE OF JOHN WEBBERLY.

John Webberly had a grudge against the Rector. In April 1636, one evening, between nine and ten, "after the Sub-rector had taken away the key," he had "broken open the cellar door, causing the butler's boy to fetch him beer." The Rector sconded him in the buttery-book, but Webberly "wiped it off, with irreverent and unbecoming language." For this, he had to apologise, and go without his commons for three months.

His share in the Tireman case prevented his having it out with Hood before Williams. But when Laud came in as Visitor, he accused Hood of many malpractices.

Laud found that Hood, following the careless practice of his predecessors, had, in many points, transgressed the Statutes; but also that Webberly failed to establish his main charges, and, therefore, in the eyes of this stout upholder of authority, had greatly slandered "his governor to whom he ought obedience." "And were it not," he proceeded, "that I am only Visitor of this College, at this present, by accident, I should make Mr. Webberly an example of factious disobedience."

Laud, therefore, required him to apologise. Hood commanded Webberly to sign a statement that he had "done Mr. Rector wrong in the malicious and slanderous aspersions he had cast upon him." Webberly was ready to apologise, but not in those terms. Hood again appealed to Laud, who replied in a finely conceived letter, dated Lambeth, August 2, 1639.

"The wrong done unto you he does confess, and did acknowledge before the Fellows. And if you will rest satisfied with that, I will also, in hope of his better carriage for the future. But, if you *will* hold him strictly to the form which you tendered him, I will do also. . . . Thus far I am very willing to go for the upholding of government. But my advice to you in private shall be this: that if he will give you a fair promise for the future, you should admit of the acknowledgment already made, and see how far that goodness will work upon him."

But Hood was too mean-spirited and spiteful to do this. He insisted on Webberly's signing the objectionable form, and, on his refusing, suspended him from his fellowship. It was February 1640, before the Fellows prevailed on Webberly to offer a full apology, and compelled Hood to re-instate him. Webberly appears afterwards as the stoutest of the Cavalier party in the College.

LAUD'S FALL.

On October 17, 1640, the University elected Members for the "Long" Parliament, as it was to prove. Sir Thomas Roe, and the learned John Selden, were chosen. But John Prideaux and Paul Hood had made an effort to secure the return of a more pronounced Puritan, Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College.

This Parliament met on November 3, 1640, and its protection was at once claimed against Laud.

GENERAL TURBULENCE OF THE TIME.

The age was a turbulent one, not only in political, but in academic and social life.

Several causes contributed to this.

First of all, it was an unpolished age, and men, and especially young men, had not learned to control either their passions or the expression of them. The great Dr. William Harvey (1578-1657) is recorded to have been "apt to draw out his dagger upon every slight occasion." Even the philosophic Lucius, Lord Falkland (born 1610; threw away his life at Newbury fight, September 20, 1643, crying "Peace! Peace!") was in his younger days "apt to stab and do bloody mischiefs."

This passionateness was aggravated by the habitual use of strong drink, for it was not till the next age that coffee and tea were introduced. One example will point the moral, though not adorn the tale. In November 1634, Thomas Goldsmith, B.A. of Lincoln, did "most savagely beat and endanger, even to the present danger of his life," William Carminow, a Cornish undergraduate. The provocation was, perhaps, tale-bearing, Carminow next month informing against George Stareshmore for calling Robert Crosse (Fellow 1627) "ass." Goldsmith, in his apology, pleads "being at that time somewhat in drink, I became subject to more heat and fury than became me."

The very studies of the University fostered the turbulence of the age. They were all by way of disputation, whether privately in the Hall of the College, or publicly in the Schools of the University. John Aubrey, who entered Trinity in May 1642, notes the captious spirit thus produced. Of William Chillingworth, the apostle of toleration, he says, "He would always be disputing; so would my tutor [William Browne, M.A. Trin. 1642]; I think it was an epidemi-

cal evil of the time, which now is grown out of fashion as unmannerly and boyish." When, in the public exercises of the Schools, the rivalry of Colleges was added to the heat of debate, disputants often lost their temper and fought, their College backers, and even the Masters of the Schools, sometimes joining in the fray. Thus, in the Lent exercises of 1638 :

"the students of Christ Church and those of Exeter got so unruly—the Masters interposing and wrangling in, and the undergraduates fighting out of, the Schools—that the Vice-Chancellor was forced to command an absolute cessation of all manner of disputations between the said two houses."

It ceases to surprise us, therefore, that riot fostered in the Schools should penetrate into the University and Colleges, and that Masters of Arts should strike each other in Colleges, and even in the Convocation House.

SPECIAL CAUSES OF STRIFE IN THE COLLEGE.

General causes of strife existed in abundance. Calvinism, or Arminianism ; Church government by bishops, or by presbyteries ; the surplice, or the Geneva gown ; the prerogative of the king, or the privilege of parliament—on all these, and their thousand corollaries, men were at issue.

And in the College itself there were at this juncture special difficulties.

The Rector, for one thing, did not command respect. There was much in his disposition which invited rudeness, and nothing of the good humour which disarms it and makes it ashamed of itself.

The Statutes required the hearty co-operation of at

least a majority of the Fellows with the Rector to enforce discipline. They dwelt so much on the hope of amendment, and the duty of giving the offender another chance, that they encouraged unruly spirits to "try it on." And the Rector, by his underhand endeavours to get behind the provisions of the Statutes, so excited the suspicions of the Fellows, that they often screened offenders from merited punishment on the ground of unjust procedure against them.

A fruitful source of trouble between the Rector and Fellows was the annual tenure of the bursarship. It was then very difficult to get in the battells; the balance in hand was often too little to meet bills; and so a Bursar, quit of his year of office, liked to wash his hands of the whole business, and let the College suffer loss. Hood, on this point, is more pithy than he generally is. Bursars (he says) think it enough to give in a note of unpaid battells,

"laying the burden and care upon the Rector for the calling in of such debts: as also do seek to discredit him, by sending the College creditors unto him, and telling of them, *he* is to see them satisfied, *they* have no more to do with their accounts."

Perpetual appeals to the Visitor show how great this trouble was, and what quarrels it occasioned.

EXAMPLES OF OUTRAGEOUS CONDUCT.

Some few examples may be given, an assorted set, of the violent disputes that took place in College, in these years before the Civil War.

First, we may take a case of a quarrel between the Rector and a graduate. George Ashton, son of a

London gentleman, had taken M.A. in 1629. In March 1635, Hood ordered him to leave the Fellows' table, and sit elsewhere: his answer was "he would sit there, and would not stir for him." When Hood threatened to punish him, "he in derision whoop't at him so loud that all the hall rang of him." Ashton made his stand good, for we find him taking B.D. from Lincoln in December 1636.

Next, we have a scuffle between Fellows. About the end of October 1637, "there was a difference and falling out between Richard Kilby [Fellow 1613-1642] and John Webberly, wherein there passed blows on both sides." "No hurt or sign appeared upon Mr. Webberly, and it appeared that Mr. Kilby's face was sore bruised and beaten." Verdict: both are to apologise, but Webberly must "pay the charge of the surgeon for healing Mr. Kilby's face."

The most extraordinary of all the cases is, however, that of *Smith v. North*.

Thomas Smith, M.A., Commoner, cannot be traced in the books, except as "subscribing" to the XXXIX Articles, in April 1638. He was, therefore, perhaps, an incorporation from Cambridge. Nicholas North had been Traps Scholar in 1627 from Sandwich School, had taken M.A. in 1634, and was in Orders.

Thomas Smith shall give his version of what took place between them:

"Coming out of his chamber on Moonsday night the 8th of December, 1634, about 7 o'clock, he met Mr. North under his window coming forth of his chamber, who said unto him, 'What are you, Sir?' He answered, 'What's that to you?' Whereupon Mr. North laid hold of him

and drew him to his own chamber door. Whereupon Mr. Smith demanded a reason why he should use him so. Mr. North replied that he thought he had come forth of his chamber and had taken something out there. Whereupon Mr. Smith told him he was an unworthy man, and he would make him know himself. Mr. North being then within his chamber-door, dared Mr. Smith to follow him or come over his threshold, saying, 'Will you strike me?' and, 'Strike me if thou durst!' With that Mr. Smith perceived a bed-staff in his gown-sleeve, he holding the little end in his hand and the great end downwards; and so, provoking him still with cross language, Mr. Smith, having a stick behind him, thereupon struck at him, and hitting him upon the top of the head broke the stick in pieces."

Asked what he was doing carrying a stick at all, Smith

"alledged further that the reason why he took his stick out under his gown was, because he came newly out of town from some company, and by the way was jostled from the wall by two scholars, and being immediately to return, not knowing whether he might be abused again, he took that stick under his gown."

North's version is, of course, very different.

"He was coming from supper in the buttery, to his own room in 'the new quadrangle.' Mistaking Smith for his chamber-fellow, he called out to him, 'Who are you?' Smith called him 'a base rogue,' pursued him to his room, forced his way in: there was no provocation, and no 'bed-staff.' He did no striking, but received many blows."

Smith's case, even in his own stating of it, may

seem indefensible enough ; but he apparently got off with a mere apology. He may be the Thomas Smith of Lincoln College, who took M.D. in the "creation" of November 1, 1642.

Two things explain this miscarriage of justice. First of all, the tortuous proceedings of the Rector, who, as usual, wanted to take the chance of this grave offence to punish Smith for some previous slights to himself. He had "been warned by the Rector to remove his dogs out of the College ;" and had not done so. Hood, also, had prejudged the case, by writing out a decree of expulsion, which he asked the Fellows to sign, before Smith had been heard. And further, he had tried to exclude more than half the Fellows from the College meeting. December 17, 1634, the Rector had ordered Thomas Smith to appear, and "had warned the four seniors to be present there . . . to be witnesses of his proceedings against Smith." But "at this meeting Mr. John Tireman, Mr. Charles Harington [Fellow 1631-1638], and Mr. Peter Allibond [Fellow 1632-1641 ; Hood's brother-in-law] did intrude themselves into his lodging to oppose his proceedings." A second and important consideration is that, according to Allibond, North's punishment, if excessive, was not unprovoked. He hinted that Smith "might have taken him eaves-dropping ;" and that he himself had "found one standing under Mr. George Ashton's window, whom he followed to Mr. North's chamber," and thought, but would not swear, that it was North.

From these dark records of bad temper and riotous conduct, we may now turn to a happier aspect of the times.



From a Photo by thec

[Oxford Camera Club

COLLEGE KITCHEN



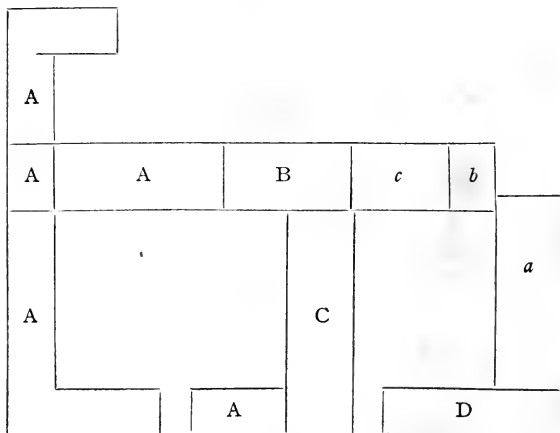
THE NEW BUILDINGS.

When John Williams, on becoming Bishop of Lincoln, became Visitor of the College in 1621, it was still obviously incomplete. The chapel was only the original upper room, too small for the Society as it now was; and, although the frontage to the Turl was built, the east and south sides of the new quadrangle were wanting. What other interest he had in the College, except that he was its Visitor, and that it shared in his own Puritan sympathies, I do not know; but within few years he gave the College a new chapel, and completed the new quadrangle. His portrait well deserves its conspicuous place, as a benefactor, in the Hall.

His work can be very clearly shown by a diagram (p. 82), which will be fully understood by comparison with the facsimile of Loggan's view.

An accidental interest attaches to Bishop Williams's work, from an odd coincidence between his munificence to Lincoln and his munificence to his old College, St. John's, Cambridge, where he built the library. In both cases, he gave a fixed sum, I suppose on the estimated cost; and would not add to it afterwards. The Lincoln items are, that on May 13, 1629, when the two new staircases were approaching completion, it was ordered that "the £50 given to the College by old Edward Sandwith, and the £40 given by William Powderill, be employed towards the perfecting of the new buildings." Their fabric has been much improved in recent years. It was at first a mere shell; and the partition walls, in some cases, were of canvas, bulged out by faggots of gorse.

The gravel for these buildings was dug up out of "the Grove." In 1884, when the new Rector's lodgings were built, gravel was sought for in the Grove, and the old pits were come upon, filled with earth, containing an extraordinary variety of rubbish, broken crockery, hundreds of boar's tusks (showing that the boar's head was a favourite dish at Oxford), copper and silver coins of all reigns from Henry VIII. to James I., and numerous trade tokens.



A. Original buildings of the College (1437). B. Rector's lodgings (Beckington's: 1467). C. Archbishop Rotheram's addition (1479). D. Sir T. Rotheram's addition (1609). The rest is Williams's work (1629-31): *a*. The Chapel; *b*. A half staircase; *c*. A full staircase (*i.e.*, with rooms on each side).

THE RECTOR'S LODGINGS.

Opportunity was taken to effect a required enlargement of the Rector's house. Hitherto it had consisted of the building erected by Beckington's executors: two deep cellars; a noble ground-floor room, to which the

Rector had to invite the Fellows for such College meetings as were not held in Chapel; an equally noble room on the second floor, which he could keep sacred for himself; and an attic, for his man-servant. But Hood was now about to avail himself of the permission that Heads of Colleges might marry. He was the first married head of Lincoln.

Accordingly, on the pretext that the Rector's lodgings had received "prejudice and damage" by "the late new buildings," the rooms on the north side of staircase *c* in the diagram were annexed to the Rector's lodging. This corner is shown in one of our plates.

It is possible that, during the noise of the new building, and the dust of the structural alterations, Hood rented a house for his wife in the town, for Wood tells us that his son, Job Hood, "was born in Magdalen parish, Oxford, and baptized there October 18, 1630."

It was perhaps his marriage that drew upon Hood, at the Act this year (1630), the abuse of the *Terræ Filius*.^{*} At all events, in a Convocation held on August 6, 1630, the *Terræ Filius*, Thomas Eland (or Yealand) of Magd. Coll., had to kneel and ask pardon for his *verba scandalosa et opprobriosa* against Hood.

In 1629, also, the Rector was assigned, for a private garden, "the little patch of ground at the east end of the chapel."

^{*} The *Terræ filii* were two M.A.s who were taking part in the Act, the final exercise for that degree. It was the duty of one *Terræ filius* to speak a Latin speech at the Act on the Saturday; and of the other, on the Monday. Each proctor nominated one. The speeches were, by custom, humorous; and too often vulgar and indecent attacks on prominent members of the University.

THE CHAPEL.

The new Chapel was consecrated on September 15, 1631, by Richard Corbet, Bishop of Oxford, acting under commission from Bishop Williams. A month later Williams provided for its constant use by the College by an "interpretation" of the original Statute *De officio divino* which required services in All Saints' Church. "That was," he said, "a provisional statute binding us only till we should have a convenient place within our College. Which we now having, he judged us freed from going to All Hallows." However, for auld lang syne, had the dear phrase been then invented, he required the College to go to All Saints' Church "upon some chief festivals, as All Saints' day."

This "interpretation," it may be noted, carried on to modern days a quaint custom. It had been ordered by Statute that two sermons should be preached at All Saints, one by the Rector on All Saints' day, the other on the dedication-day of the Church, *in octavis S. Martini*, i.e., November 18. These were still continued. The preacher appointed for the Dedication day in 1737, and again in 1743 and 1749, was John Wesley. In John Pointer's guide-book to Oxford (1749), this is the chief "custom" he notes at Lincoln. "Custom for the Rector and Fellows of this College to go in procession through the street, all in their surplices, to All Hallows Church on All Saints' day." The custom was discontinued by permission of the Visitor in 1866, the College jurisdiction in the Church having been modified by the Orders in Council of 1846, enforced by the Bishop (Samuel Wilberforce).

Bishop Williams was exceedingly fortunate in the artists he employed. Architecturally, the Chapel is acknowledged to be one of the best examples of the contemporary return to Gothic, the style known as "Jacobean Gothic." Its screen and panels, of cedar, are most exquisitely carved, and still yield a faint, sweet fragrance, which takes the senses back to the fresh pine-forest, as the murmur of the shell suggests the sea. This fragrance was noted by Pointer in 1749: "the cedar wainscot," he says, "is very sweet."

But the glory of the Chapel is its unrivalled glass, equally perfect in its suggestiveness, and exquisite in drawing and colour. The picture-epitome of Scripture history is wonderfully complete and clear. On each side are four windows, with three lights in each. Those on the north give the Old Testament, in figures of twelve prophets with their emblems, as Amos with his shepherd's crook, David in his robe of royal embroidery, and touching the strings of his harp. Under each is an elegiac couplet, explaining the emblem; thus under Amos is

Ex ovium fueram factus custode propheta;
Duraque pro Christi nominè verba tuli.

The windows on the south give the New Testament, in figures of the twelve Apostles, each having beneath him the clause attributed to him of the Apostles' Creed.

The east window gives the Old and New Testament in one view, centred in the person of Christ. It is divided into six lights, each of which has two pictures with appropriate texts under them from the Latin

Bible. The lower pictures give the six "types" of the Old Testament, and the upper the scenes in the life of Christ in which these were fulfilled. The arrangement is this :

I	2	3	4	5	6
I	II	III	IV	V	VI

I. The making and the fall of man. 1. The birth of the Redeemer. II. Israel passing through the Red Sea, while the Egyptians are drowned. 2. John baptizing Jesus. III. The Passover. 3. The Last Supper, with this peculiarity, that His mother is present by Christ's side. IV. The serpent raised in the wilderness. 4. Christ on His Cross (see page 88). V. Jonah delivered from the whale's belly. 5. The grave giving up its victor. VI. Elijah carried to heaven. 6. Christ received up.

There are three marvels about these pictures. For one thing, they show the most exquisite effects of distance. Thus, in the Baptism scene, the foreground gives John on the bank sprinkling Jesus, who stands knee-deep in Jordan; but in the background the eye wanders along the windings of the river to the walls of Jericho. Again, in their small space, they give wonderful perspectives of figures. For example, in the Crucifixion scene, Jesus is on his cross with Mary and John standing at its foot. Behind Mary the officer on horseback is piercing the side with his lance; behind John are three soldiers of the guard. In the middle distance

room is found for those who "stood afar off, beholding these things," and the towers of Zion close the view. In the third place, the pictures often blend in one view a whole narrative. In the Creation scene we see Adam first formed, then Eve, and then Eve taking the second apple from the serpent's mouth while Adam doubtfully holds the first which he has received from her. And all round them the garden of the Lord spreads out, flowers in field, beasts feeding in green pastures, birds on wing, and, far off, fishes sporting in an isle-strewn sea. In the Jonah scene the foreground shows the prophet kneeling on the bank to return thanks for his deliverance, while the monster opens its cavernous mouth, revealing the depth from which he has been set free. In the middle distance, the sailors are casting Jonah into a sea running waves mountains high. Far off, the ship, its doomed passenger gone, is sailing over a tranquil sea.

The carvings of the pews are in keeping with the suggestiveness of the storied windows. At the east ends stand Moses and Aaron, representing the Law and the Sanctuary; at the west, Peter and Paul, Apostles of Jew and Gentile. In the middle, the four Evangelists. All have their emblems. Over the Holy Table hangs a gilded wreath of wheat-ears and vine-clusters, symbolising the holy mysteries. (See the fine view of the Chapel interior in one of our plates.)

The tracery of the east window is filled with outlines of buildings. That of the side windows has painted glass in the larger spaces, two angels supporting shields with the arms of John Williams, his Deanery of Westminster and his See of Lincoln.

Architect, carver, and painter are alike unknown. The date 1630 occurs several times under the Apostles.

Anthony Wood says that Williams "procured" the glass "from Italy in 1629." A later version of the same story seeks to account for its Flemish style by saying that it was glass which had been taken from Flanders into Italy for a chapel the design of which was abandoned; that Williams then bought it, and built Lincoln Chapel to receive it. Richard Michell (born 1805; Fellow of Lincoln 1830-1841; died 1877, Principal of Hertford) used to say that the glass much resembles that in the chapel of the hospital at Guildford built by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury 1611-1633; and that both were by the same artist, who was a relative of Abbot's.

A very odd incident in connection with the building of the chapel is that it added an article to the impeachment of Laud. "There were," it was then stated, "some old crucifixes repaired, and divers new ones erected in divers colleges there, since he became Chancellor of the University, whereas there were none before his time." Laud, with a sly allusion to his well-known hostility to Williams on the burning questions of Church ceremonies, replied; "The crucifix in Lincoln College was set up by the Bishop of Lincoln; and it would have been thought hard if *I* had opposed it." This "crucifix" is the picture in the east window of the chapel, described above.

THE GREAT CELLAR.

The College cellar had hitherto been under the buttery. In 1640, a new one was excavated under the

hall. An accidental result was that it rendered less the obligation to the College which Charles I. was about to come under, since to defray its cost some of the College plate was sold. The items are:—May 6, 1640, allowed “towards the building of a new cellar under the hall,” £15 2s. (money in hand) and £4 18s. (taken out of the treasury). February 6, 1641, £29 12s. (taken out of the treasury), and £18 4s. (the proceeds of the sale, at the rate of 4s. 10d. per oz., of 75¼ oz. 4 dwt. of plate, bowls, ear-pieces, tankards, and “our little old salt”).

FOUNDATIONS OF SCHOLARSHIPS.

In 1633, John Smyth, late Rector of Wickhambreux, Kent, gave a rent-charge to be paid to a scholar in Lincoln College. Unfortunately, he left the administration and nomination to a small local trust. The result has been that the exhibition has often not been paid, or been paid to the wrong person. I know one case in which the College believed that a distinguished Commoner of the College was in receipt of this for four years. A long time afterwards, the question coming up by accident, he told me that he had never had one payment. The founder may well have been the John Smyth, who took his M.A. from Lincoln, July 6, 1599.

In his will, made 1640, which took effect in 1652, Thomas Hayne, Commoner of Lincoln in 1599, M.A. 1612, afterwards a master at Merchant Taylors and Christ's Hospital, London, left a bequest to his native parish Thrussington, co. Leicester. He directed that, with certain personal preferences, £6 per annum should be paid to two scholars from the schools of Leicester,

or Melton Mowbray, at Lincoln College. The nomination was vested in the Corporation of Leicester. There is no means of judging how far these "Scholarships" were, even at the first, paid regularly, for no intimation was given to the College. In the eighteenth century, the money was paid at intervals, to one scholar, occasionally with the accumulation of vacant years. One Hayne Scholar deserves mention. Benjamin Sutton, Commoner of Lincoln in 1824, was allowed by the Mayor and Aldermen this exhibition from 1825 to 1828. He bequeathed £30,000 for aid to convalescent patients of the Leicester Infirmary and Fever Hospital. The exhibition afterwards lapsed, and the income is now otherwise employed under a Charity Commission Scheme.

CHAPTER IX

THE CIVIL WAR

Rector : Paul Hood, as before

WE come now to a period when the nation was to be rent by the earthquake throes of a great political and religious struggle, in which the University and its Colleges were shaken, and their annals are no more than a commentary on the text "Inter arma silent leges."

FEELING IN OXFORD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

To one who has read the annals of Laud's Chancellorship, it comes as a surprise to find the University so unreservedly on the side of the king. Every year then one took note of new grievances established; preachers silenced; meetings forbidden. One would have expected much lukewarmness, if not even hostility to Charles.

There are several causes to explain this change of feeling.

With Laud as Chancellor, the commanding positions in the University had been filled by men who were not only High Churchmen but men also of first-rate ability. These were able, at the first blush, to hurry the University into acts of overt hostility to the Parliament, from which returning was more difficult than going forward.

Men must use the sword when they have thrown away the scabbard.

Again, Charles's most recent act, his one important concession to public opinion, too late to abate the national distrust, was in time to help his cause in Oxford. The appointment of John Prideaux to the Bishopric of Worcester (December 1641) was a salve to wounded feelings, and removed from the University the "man" of the Puritan party. There was no one to take his place.

It stands to reason also that Laud's iron rule had induced the hotter spirits among the younger Puritans to remove from Oxford in silence, to escape a control they could neither shake off nor endure.

Parliament, on the other hand, had prejudiced itself by the display of feelings unfriendly to the University. In the "Short" Parliament of 1640, a speaker had cast imputations of Romanism on the University, by declaring that "mass was commonly celebrated at Oxford," viz., in the Mitre Inn, where the lessees under the College were for many years steady Roman Catholics. And the "Long" Parliament, as early as January 1641, had taken the alarming step of preparing a Bill "for the visiting and regulating of the University."

The old animosity between town and gown was an additional incentive. Hoping that the Parliament would grant some of the privileges they coveted and thought usurped by the University, the townsmen had begun to meet in crowds every night at Carfax, to discuss the latest news from Westminster and to hoot and even hustle the proctors. The ominous sound was more than once heard of St. Martin's great bell ringing

out to bring the town together, "as in the time of King Edward III. when the great conflict hapned." The College gates were closed, and none allowed forth at night, lest some indiscretion might provoke a tumult of deadly consequence.

It was a Lincoln man, Peter Allibond, the first Proctor elected from Lincoln under the Caroline cycle of 1629, who had to be front-rank man in the battle. Admitted to office in April 1640, in June he came in conflict with the City, on the old quarrel of the night-watch, by sending to prison an offending constable of St. Thomas's parish; and, a little later, he roused the ire of Alderman John Nixon, the most determined City champion, by setting at large "an Irish foot-post" whom the alderman had put in jail. The dispute was carried up to Parliament, by the influence of the City members. Allibond died in the beginning of 1641 in London of a consumption. He had gone up "to answer Alderman Nixon's charges before a Committee of Parliament."

There were public motives therefore to side with the king; and whispers of honourable private ambition were not silent, calling the same way.

The great corporate interests of the Church of England were now at stake. And there were many Puritans, hot on the questions of wearing the surplice, or making the sign of the cross, or bowing to the altar, and eager to Calvinise the doctrine of the Church, who would be the last men in the world to seek to banish the Prayer Book, to cry "Down with the bishops!" and to suppress those great Cathedral establishments, a place in which was to them a legitimate object of ambition.

Accordingly, as the months passed on, the feeling of the University became stronger and stronger against the Parliament and for the king. On December 14, 1640, the Heads of Houses, with the single exception of Christopher Rogers (M.A. Linc. 1615; now the "notoriously Puritan" head of notoriously Puritan New Inn Hall, who possibly had a keener scent for Romanists), were willing to propitiate Parliament by a declaration that "they knew not any member of this University guilty of, or addicted to, Popery." But on April 21, 1641, the University in Convocation petitioned Parliament in favour of bishops and cathedral churches; and, more striking still, a similar petition in the name of resident graduates was signed by nearly every one, except the extreme Puritans of New Inn Hall and Magdalen Hall.

Thus it had come about that the general feeling of the University was estranged from the Parliament; and that, at the decisive moment, it was the Royalist Colleges like New College and Christ Church which took the lead, while Puritan Colleges, like Lincoln, followed.

The Puritan leanings of the College, to the very last, are strikingly shown in the election of August 5, 1642, when of the four new Fellows, two, Joshua Crosse of Magdalen Hall and Thankful Owen of Exeter, were decided Puritans, from a Puritan Hall and a Puritan College.

FIRST MOVEMENTS OF THE ANTAGONISTS.

Parliament made the first move. In February 1642, the House of Commons required all members of the

University of over eighteen years (the usual limit in taking Academical oaths) to assent to a protestation to maintain and defend "the true reformed Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England against all Popery, . . . as also the power and privileges of Parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject." There was nothing on the face of this which a good Royalist could object to, and nearly everybody accepted it. Some few, more scrupulous, considering what was meant rather than what was said, escaped committing themselves by keeping away from Oxford for a time.

Charles's opposition move was a more practical one. From York, July 7, 1642, he addressed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, requiring him to "signify to that our University" that "any sums of money that either any of our Colleges out of their treasuries or any person thereof out of their particular fortunes" would advance, would be "received by Us as a very acceptable service to Us and repaid by Us with interest of 8 *li.* per centum." Convocation on July 11, ordered the money in Savile's, Bodley's, and the University chest to be counted to see how much could be sent to the king. The amount in the Cista Universitatis proved to be £922 4s. 8d., and the sum of £860 was taken out and despatched to York. At the same time the Bodleian chest sent £500.

Parliament was prompt to take alarm, and on July 12, probably informed by secret agents about the king's person of the tenor of his letter, and fearing the willingness of the University to obey it, transmitted orders to the University to forbid "the plate and treasure of

the University and Colleges" being sent to York, and to require the Colleges to "forthwith put their plate and money into some safe place, under security that it be not employed against the Parliament."

The king, understanding that the Parliament was threatening the University, sent letters to the county and city authorities directing them to protect it.

OXFORD IN ARMS FOR THE KING.

Charles began the civil war by issuing, Tuesday, August 9, 1642, his proclamation to "suppress the present rebellion under the conduct and command of Robert, Earl of Essex." The king's summons to arms sped swiftly southwards. On Saturday, August 13, the acting Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Robert Pinke, Warden of New College, caused the proclamation to be openly read in Oxford.

Parliamentary troops were expected to be moved northwards, and the University, exposed to the first shock of the conflict, prepared with alacrity to do the king good service.

As part of their duty to the University the "privileged men"—*i.e.*, those citizens who, by reason of particular service to the Colleges or the University, were exempt from the jurisdiction of the mayor and from various civic burdens—were required to serve as a University militia, to have serviceable weapons and to turn out when called upon. The Colleges also had their armouries. Dr. Pinke now called out the privileged men to a weapon-shaw at New College. Their defensive equipment was a helmet and back- and breast-piece; their offensive, either musket or pike. The latter, with

its cousin the halbert, was the weapon of the majority, reminding us of what Sir Walter Scott, from the practice of the German wars, puts into the mouth of Captain Dalgetty, in "A Legend of Montrose,"

"so that the one third have muskets, my darling weapon would be the pike for the remainder, whether for resisting a charge of horse or for breaking the infantry."

Arms then were ready ; it remained to learn how to use them. The privileged men, and a great number of scholars—for it is convenient to use the old word for our cumbrous "members of the University"—who volunteered, were called out for drill, and Oxford saw the strict etiquette of the University set aside, Masters of Arts standing shoulder by shoulder with freshmen, and D.C.L.s trailing the pike alongside of servitors.

The drill began on Thursday, August 18, in Christ Church quadrangle, and for a fortnight following there was "no face of a University left," but the aspect of an armed camp. Day after day there was mustering of the companies at College gates, parade at the Schools, marching through the town and suburbs to show that they were prepared to do and die for King Charles, drill in the great quadrangles of Christ Church and New College to become expert in the use of their weapons, skirmishing in the Parks to acquire the art of moving together.

The regiment consisted at first of four companies of about one hundred each, two being of muskets, one of pikes, and one of halberts ; but, as "the scarlet-fever" spread, it grew to eight or nine companies. A little

later a still older English weapon appeared. The practice of archery had no doubt continued in the University sports of the time, and the University archery club now provided themselves with barbed arrows. One hundred archers mustered, "all scholars, to shoot against the troopers if any should come." Belief in the traditional English weapon, proved of old in field against Scot and Frenchman, was still strong. In October 1643 Charles asked volunteers from the privileged men and scholars, to serve in a regiment of 1200 bowmen-volunteers under Colonel John Knightly.

We can understand how, during these weeks, nothing was spoken of or thought of but the musterings. Whatever corresponded in those days to the Eights, or the University *v.* Blackheath, or *v.* the Australians, could not be one tenth part so attractive as "the delightful prospect to behold the forwardness of so many proper young gentlemen, so intent, docile, and pliable to their business." We can understand, also, that those of "the contrary opinion" were much crowded over at the common fires in hall, and elsewhere, and that noted leaders of the unpopular party, like Christopher Rogers, could not pass along the street without having "Roundhead" cried after them. It was an age before newspapers, but one of the devices of the modern press had already been invented, and enthusiasm was kept up by reports of Royalist victories which, afterwards, in honest Brian Twyne's phrase, "proved but a tale."

The tumult deepened, and, with the tumult, feverish anxiety. At the end of the month (Sunday, August 28, at midnight) a company of horse, one hundred strong, under command of Sir John Byron, sent by the king to

help in the defence of the University, entered Oxford unannounced, and in some haste, having come off second-best in a skirmish with Robert Lord Brooke's troopers near Brackley.

"And their so sudden coming at that time of night put both the University and town in great fright, until it was known on whose part they came, viz., on the king's part or the parliament's."

From their arrival, Oxford assumed an aspect of actual warfare. Sentinels were posted, partly of troopers, partly of scholars. And when the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pinke, went abroad, he may have taken his "pokers" as in peaceful days, but, in the pages of Brian Twyne, he had also his "guard of muskets and halberts."

Lincoln College was no doubt backward in this display of loyalty, but some of its members must have been smitten by the prevailing epidemic, have brought out musket or pike, and marched and drilled with the rest. For one, John Webberly was known to be Royalist to the core, and was put on the University committee constituted (September 1, 1642) to provide quarters for Byron's troopers.

OXFORD ABANDONED BY THE KING'S PARTY.

In September the "hue of resolution" began to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The Parliament was nearer than the king. Whilst Charles was still in northern parts, part of Essex's forces, under William Lord Saye, was at Aylesbury "prepared (as it was conceived) for Oxford."

It could hardly be thought that the city would join

in resisting them. There was a city militia, not less than 400 strong, which had furbished its weapons and drilled, but jealously apart from the scholars. And when attempts were made to take advantage of the strength which many surrounding streams gave Oxford, by breaking the bridges and substituting drawbridges, the town forcibly interfered, on pretext of leaving the ways open to bring in provisions.

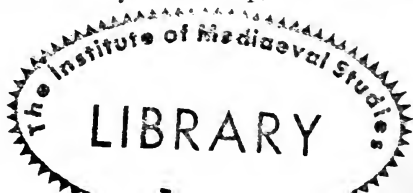
At last the king's commander became too alarmed to maintain his post. Parliamentary troops were now actually on the march, heralded by threats of vengeance on the University for so willingly supplying the king with the sinews of war. And as, stage by stage, they drew nearer, so the plainer became the intention of the citizens to cast in their lot with them, in hope of advantage against "their old enemies" of the University.

On Saturday, September 10, Byron withdrew his troopers, some of the more fiery spirits of the University marching with him, as volunteers for the king.

OXFORD THE RENDEZVOUS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ARMY.

The retreat was none too soon. On Monday, September 12, a strong body of horse, under command of William, Viscount Saye and Sele, occupied Oxford in the interest of the Parliament. And by degrees the town was filled with soldiers, horse and foot, red coats and blue coats, on their way from London to meet the king in the first battle of the war.

Lord Saye acted, on the whole, with honourable moderation. He destroyed, of course, such fortifications as had been hastily thrown up, and he confiscated



arms and ammunition and sent them off to safe Parliamentary hands at Banbury. He set also sentries at the doors of Queen's and Christ Church till he had taken an inventory of their plate. But beyond that he did not go. The plate of the Colleges

“was given back again upon condition it should be forthcoming at the parliament's appointment, and not employed in the least against the parliament.”

Some of his troopers, however, gave mutterings of a different temper, provoked by the remains of “superstition” in the town. Oxford, despite the violence of Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s Commissioners, was still a mediæval city. At Osney and Rewley it still lifted to heaven the gaunt arms of its former magnificence; its Colleges had not yet changed their monastic look, and their windows were rich in old glass, both heraldic and devotional.

“When I came to Oxford” [May 1642], John Aubrey says, “crucifixes were common in the glass windows in the studies; and in the chamber windows were canonised saints (*e.g.*, in my chamber window, St. Gregory the great, and another, broken), and scutcheons with the pillar, the whip, the dice, and the cock,”

heraldic memorials of the incidents of the Passion. He is, no doubt, speaking particularly of his own College, Trinity, hardly changed as yet from its former state as the Oxford House of the monks of Durham Priory. But other Colleges were probably adorned in the same way. At Lincoln we know that, both in the Hall and in the old Chapel, students of heraldry noted many panes with coats of arms in 1642; and it is no great

assumption to suppose that there were also pictures of prophets and saints which they took no note of, as not belonging to their art.

On the second day of their stay, the Parliamentary horse turned their chargers to grass in Christ Church meadow ; and, as they returned by the short cut through the College, many strayed into the Cathedral

“ to view the church and painted windows, much admiring at the idolatry thereof ; and a certain Scot being amongst them, said that he marvelled how the scholars could go to their books for those painted idolatrous windows.”

No violence was then offered. But when the London troopers moved out, to Edgehill as it proved, as they passed St. Mary's,

“ one of them discharged a brace of bullets at the stone image of Our Lady over the church porch, and at one shot struck off her head and the head of her child which she held in her right arm.” [The heads were replaced July 2, 1662.]

Another, taking the next chance, sought to rival his comrade's shot, by discharging “ at the image of Our Saviour over All Souls gate.” This was on Tuesday, September 20, 1642.

Lord Saye himself had given some incentive to the work of vandalism. In the afternoon of September 19, he had “ caused diverse Popish books and pictures which had been taken out of churches and papists' houses ” in Oxford and elsewhere, to be burned in the street opposite his quarters (at “ the Star,” now the Clarendon Hotel), and at other points.

Strong representations were made to Lord Saye to

leave a garrison in Oxford, under Bulstrode Whitlocke, in whom all parties had full confidence. But he was unwilling to weaken his forces on the very eve of the first engagement, and he trusted to the Parliamentary leanings of the City. His refusal to garrison the place was soon to prove a fatal blunder. Charles found Oxford a secure and convenient point for his headquarters ; and the College plate supplied him with what he most needed, money to equip and pay his troops. The engagement to keep it for the Parliament was one which the Colleges had neither the will nor the power to fulfil.

OXFORD, THE KING'S CAMP.

Edgehill was fought on Sunday, October 23, 1642. The sluggish Essex drew back, and left the way to Oxford open. Charles pushed on, entering the town, with a great parade of captured colours, on Saturday evening, October 29, and went straight to quarter himself in Christ Church.

From that day the University and the Colleges were, for all academical purposes, wiped out. The scholars, partly drawn away by appeals from home, partly thrust out by the military, left. The few who remained became soldiers, and not students ; did military service and acquired the vices of the camp. The Colleges were occupied by soldiers and courtiers, who did great damage to their quarters ; "a few chambers that were the meanest (and in some Colleges none at all) being reserved for scholars' use." The University buildings with New College cloister and tower were turned into the arsenal.

This quartering of the king's officers on the Colleges

has been productive of some confusion. Sir Robert Poyntz, for example, has often been claimed for Lincoln, from his having rooms in College at this time; but he was, as a student, of Brasenose, which he entered in 1605.

In this winter of 1642 harsh signs of war followed each other fast. At the bridges, great earth-works were thrown up, to mount cannon. In the suburbs, groves and orchards were laid low. Flags of truce were led blindfolded through the works. A military gibbet stood at Carfax. Drove of oxen and flocks of sheep were brought in by Rupert's dragoons from "the Puritanical and factious county" of Buckingham, "true pillages," no doubt, "from his majesty's enemies," but no good omen for the rent-day of Colleges, like Lincoln, which had estates in that county.

On Tuesday, January 5, 1643, the mint came from Shrewsbury, in charge of Thomas Bushell, the great company-projector of the age. It was set up in New Inn Hall, and a week later "the king's letters came abroad to all the Colleges and Halls in Oxford for their plate to be brought in to be coined into money." Lincoln's contribution is the second smallest of those recorded, 47lb. 2oz. 5dwt., estimated to be worth more than £140. Even with the contributions of five Colleges absent, the value of the plate now melted stands at nearly £5000. More money was however needed. On January 16, the University chest was able to supply £300. In the second week in June, the Colleges were taxed to yield £2000. And at the end of the month the king implored individual scholars to pay each a foot-soldier at the rate of 4s. a week. It is marvellous whence the money was obtained, for, in addition

to the disturbance of the war, Parliament in April had ordered College tenants to keep back their rents.

The fortification of the town was a heavy and prolonged task, which fell almost entirely on the Colleges.

The first and most necessary part of it was a line of great zigzag earthworks, to protect the north side of Oxford, quite undefended by nature. The line began at the Cherwell at Holywell Mill, and passed by Wadham and St. John's Gardens and St. Giles' Church to the branch of the Thames at Walton bridge. This trench and rampart were begun on December 5, 1642, by the privileged men and a large number of workmen paid by the Colleges. The city and county were to help but proved very slack. Then was exemplified the homely proverb about the willing horse getting all the work, for, in February 1643, the king required the University "to help the town forward in their task;" and from this time to April the works went on apace. Next a similar work, to cover the east suburb, St. Clement's, was begun.

But time was pressing; and on June 5, every person resident in a College or Hall, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, was required to give one day's work a week at the trenches, or pay 12*d.* for a substitute. As the day's work extended from 6 A.M. to 11, and from 1 P.M. to 6, let us hope that the seniors at least had shillings enough to pay their turns. And finally in January 1644 the Colleges and Halls were required to raise among them a sum of £40 a week for twenty weeks to complete the works.

As regards men, Charles's first call was for volunteers for his own army. On June 5, 1643, the Heads of

Houses were directed "to inquire after all scholars, of what condition soever, that were willing to do his majesty service in the wars, that they might be listed." One Lincoln man, at least, if not in arms before, now responded to the king's call. This was Robert Levinz, of Botley, M.A. 1636, who rose to be captain in the king's army; afterwards became an agent for Charles II.; and, as such, was hanged in Cornhill on July 18, 1650, aged thirty-five.

Next, the king called for a garrison to hold Oxford for him while his army was in the field. In May 1644, two regiments were embodied, one paid by the town, one supplied by the University "and strangers." This University regiment was 630 strong. In it we find one Lincoln man, Thomas Marshall, afterwards Rector, serving with such zeal that when he took his B.A. in June 1645 the king asked the University to remit him the usual fees.

In 1644, old Daniel Hough died. He became Fellow of Lincoln in 1598, and had long been Senior Fellow. His will gives voice to men's weariness of the war. He bequeathed the College £50 to buy books for the library, and £50 to be spent on a screen and wainscot for the Hall, "all within two years of a settled peace in this kingdom of England."

The surrender of Oxford to the Parliament forces (June 24, 1646) enabled the impoverished Fellows and scholars to provide for themselves. Richard Chalfont took two years of absence to act as chaplain to the English merchants at Rotterdam. Thomas Robinson took a similar leave, to serve some cure. Thomas Marshall, also, Traps Scholar, went abroad, as chaplain to the English merchants at Dordrecht.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMONWEALTH

Rector : Paul Hood, as before

THE period we next reach is remarkable by reason of the University and Colleges being deprived of their self-government and subjected to an external body, the Visitors, controlled from London by a Committee of Parliament.

OXFORD IN THE POWER OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, to whom the City was surrendered, was not only a soldier, but a student and a lover of learning. No one knew better the priceless worth of the treasures which were about to pass into the custody of the army; no one was better able to safeguard them. He had included in the Articles of Surrender this clause: "that all Churches, Chapels, Colleges, Halls, Libraries, Schools . . . shall be preserved from defacing and spoil." And his first act when he took possession of the place was to station a guard of soldiers to protect the Bodleian.

Oxford had been the centre of resistance to the Parliament; and it was to be expected that that body would now take measures to compel its adhesion. Before the siege had been ordered, the Parliamentary

leaders had considered the question and had decided to follow the old precedents of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and send a body of Visitors to re-model the University and Colleges. The Articles of Surrender, therefore, had stipulated that nothing was to be allowed "to retard any reformation there intended by the Parliament."

THE VISITATION GETTING UP STEAM.

But Parliament was slow to employ the machinery it had provided. Oxford was securely held by a strong garrison, posted in the Castle; and it was perhaps thought that, open resistance being now impossible, the University would of itself submit to the ruling power. No doubt also the great influence of John Selden, M.P. for the University, clogged the wheels of the Parliamentary machine.

Persuasion was first tried. Six Presbyterian preachers of repute, all old Oxford men, were sent down to bring the University round to their way of thinking. The expedient shows the firmness of Puritan belief in the efficacy of

"the pulpit, drum ecclesiastic;"

which in Oxford under any circumstances would probably have failed. Failure, however, at this juncture was inevitable. Among the officers of the garrison were several Independents, who believed themselves to have as good a gift of preaching as e'er a minister of them all. They had already, immediately after their first entrance, aired their talents, and

"preached in some of the pulpits among us, and thrust

themselves into the public schools and there in the places of lecturers spoken to the scholars ”

—scenes better depicted by Scott’s historic imagination in the opening chapter of “Woodstock ” than in the tedious pamphlets of the day.

The arrival of the preachers from Parliament was a challenge which these military “saints ” could not refuse ; and the rival preachings not only made the affair ridiculous, but encouraged the Royalists to think that “the Revolution had begun to devour its own children.” That time, however, was not yet. Presbyterians and Independents were inclined to cut each other’s throats, but so far they had a still stronger inclination to make spoil of “the common enemy.”

Persuasion having failed, compulsion must be applied. On May-day, 1647, Parliament ordered the “visitation and reformation ” of the University. Twenty-four Visitors were to reside in Oxford and take steps to reduce it to fidelity to Parliament ; and a Committee of twenty-six Lords and fifty-two of the Commons was to sit in London, as a Court of Appeal and a reserve of force. The Chairman of the Visitors was Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton ; that of the Committee, Francis Rous, who had studied in Pembroke College while it was still Broadgates Hall. As is usual in such Commissions, in both cases the authority of the Commission was exercised by a small minority. Changes of *personnel* took place, but for all purposes this Commission remained unaltered as the Governing Body of the University for twelve years.

The Visitation began on May 15, 1647, but was met in the University with a resistance equally obstinate

and ingenious, seconded in London by the influence of Selden. The plea mainly urged was that the Visitation was illegal without the king's consent, which consent the king, now a prisoner, could not give.

A Committee was appointed on June 1 by the University to concert ways and means of frustrating the Visitation. It contains two Lincoln names, the great one of Robert Sanderson, now Regius Professor of Divinity, and the other, John Webberly. It was Sanderson, chiefly, who drew up the "Reasons" of the University for refusing to take the tests about to be imposed, "the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances of Discipline and Worship;" and he did this in a paper so satisfactory to the Royalists, that the Cavalier Parliament which sat at Oxford in 1665, the plague year, voted its solemn thanks to the University "for those excellent Reasons they published to the world in justifying to the world of his majesty's righteous cause."

VISITATION IN EARNEST.

Convinced at last that

"Tories own no argument but force,"

Parliament ordered the military commander of Oxford, Thomas Kelsey, a rude soldier, to send for more troops and compel obedience to the Visitors. This order was dated March 31, 1648. Parliament further specially empowered the Visitors to eject Fellows, whose tenures being "freehold" were hedged round by much majesty of law. Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Parliamentary Chancellor of the University

(elected 1641, ejected by the king in October 1643, restored by Parliament 1647), came down in person to nominate a Vice-Chancellor and Proctors who would obey the Visitors, viz., Edmund Reynolds, the intruded Dean of Christ Church, to be Vice-Chancellor, and Robert Crosse of Lincoln and Ralph Button of Merton to be Proctors.

The Visitation was still met by determined opposition, and the Oxford press was kept fiery-hot, issuing lampoons in which the Royalist wits sought to make it ridiculous. One impiously took for title the well-known mark of the cross and the prayer put on houses infected with the plague, and appeared as “+ *Lord have Mercy upon us*, or the Visitation at Oxford.”

This time, however, the iron hand was to be felt under the glove. All resident members of the University were compelled to appear before the Visitors and answer the question, “Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this present Visitation?” If the answer was anything short of a plain “Yes,” then the recusant was ordered to give up his place in College, and not approach within five miles of Oxford; and the soldiers of the garrison enforced the order.

The one person in Lincoln who showed decided hostility was, of course, John Webberly, Sub-Rector this year. On March 30, having already twice “affronted and abused” the Visitors, to set the University a good example of resistance (he pleaded to “be excused for his boldness, because he did conceive himself to be a leading example” to other graduates), he was suspended from his office and his fellowship. Breaking his suspension by taking his place in Hall, he was sent to jail

on April 17. Set free after ten days in durance, he was expelled from his fellowship on May 15, and conducted out of Oxford by the soldiers on June 29.

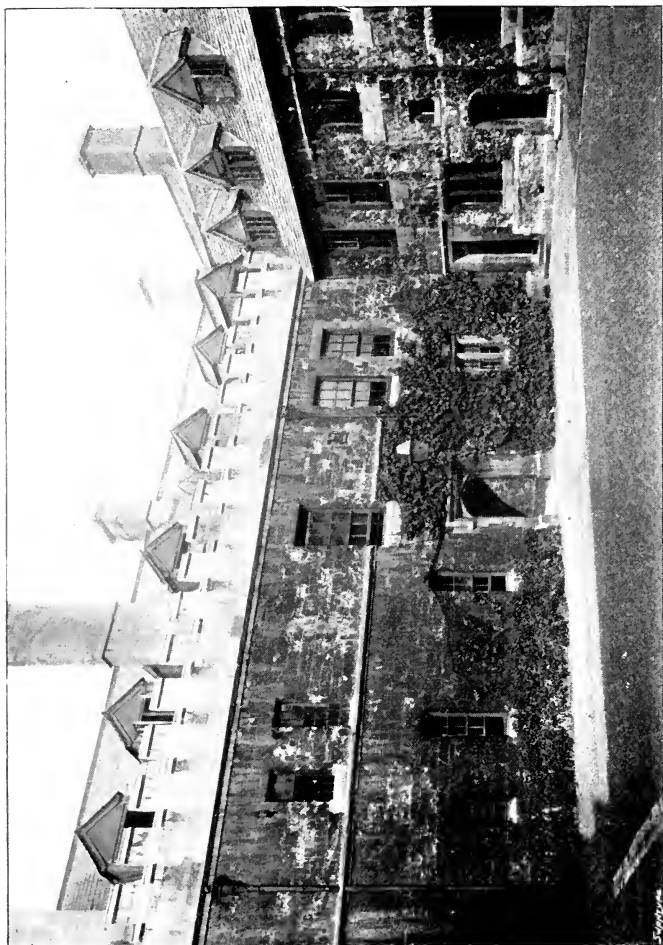
Some Fellows and scholars tried to escape answering by leaving Oxford; but notice was given that unless they returned within fifteen days and submitted, ejection would be their fate. Even those resident beyond sea had the same measure dealt them, including, of Lincoln men, the three named at the end of the last chapter.

These drastic measures were for the time effectual.

The chief opponents of the Parliament, that is, the supporters of monarchy and episcopacy, were removed from University and College offices and places, and their room taken by adherents of the Parliament. Several of these "intruders" were men of high standing, whose names now are revered in the annals of science, such as John Wilkins and John Wallis.

Undergraduates came in freely. At the time of the Visitation the numbers must have been terribly reduced. Lincoln, for example, cannot have had, Fellows included, as many as forty members in residence. But the gentry had no wish that their sons should be rude soldiers only; and now that the University was again open, with some certainty of discipline and teaching, they sent them freely, especially to those colleges where the old Fellows held on. In November 1650, the University Matriculation Register, admittedly defective, gives twenty-seven as entering Lincoln, of whom two write themselves "esquire," and thirteen, "gentlemen."

A great change also was manifest in the temper of the University. In July 1648, Oxford was still so royalist that a dangerous conspiracy was formed to



From a Photo by the

[Oxford Camera Club

CHAPEL QUADRANGLE

SHOWING WESLEY'S ROOM AND PART OF RECTOR'S LODGINGS

surprise the garrison, and march to the relief of the Kent Cavaliers shut up in Colchester. Lincoln had its share in this, its representative being one of the servants, William Cerney, "commonly called Snapper," who, on the discovery of the plot, "stood in the pillory, had his ears clipt, and was whipt at the cart's tail." The barbarity of the punishment may show the alarm of the party in power, according to the old argument—

Crudelis semper timidus si vicerit unquam.

But when, in 1651, the rumour spread that the son of "the Royal martyr," with his army of Scots, was advancing on Oxford, and Colonel Draper, the governor, abandoned the great earthworks of the Castle, and made the solid strength of William of Wykeham's buildings at New College his citadel, he was able to raise a volunteer troop of 120 horse from among the scholars, who marched to join Cromwell at Worcester, with this device on their banner,

"Non Arte sed Marte."

And again in 1655, when the Cavaliers were moving in the west, Cromwell, now Chancellor of the University, had only to speak the word and a troop of scholars was enrolled to help keep Oxford for him.

LINCOLN COLLEGE UNDER THE VISITORS.

Lincoln College had less reason to dread the Visitation than any College in the University; and yet, in the result, it suffered under it more severely than any.

Paul Hood, the Rector, had always been Puritan; and it is not surprising that on April 7, 1648, when the Visitors summoned all members of Convocation to appear

and submit to their authority, Hood was one of the eleven graduates, and the only Head of a House, who obeyed.

Of the ten actual Fellows, of whom two were absentees, four were heartily with the Visitors and served them in various ways, and three of these four were the best Lincoln men of the day, Robert Crosse, Joshua Crosse, and Thankful Owen.

Robert Crosse and Thankful Owen were members of the committee appointed by the Visitors (July 5, 1648) to act as a board of examiners of candidates for fellowships and scholarships, and Owen was appointed one of their "special preachers" in 1650. Robert Crosse was offered the Regius Professorship of Divinity (June 14, 1648) by the London Committee, when it reluctantly found it necessary to expel Robert Sanderson for non-submission. His refusal to accept that high office, we may hope, proceeded both from respect for the greatness of the displaced professor and from College good-feeling to an old Lincoln man. Thankful Owen was made President of St. John's in 1650. Joshua Crosse, as we have seen, served the Visitors as Proctor in their trying first year; and was made by them Fellow of Magdalen in 1648 and Professor of Natural Philosophy in 1649.

These three able men, as might be expected, carried the better part of the College with them. May 11, 1648, was the day on which Lincoln College was summoned. Of twenty-five members who were present, seventeen submitted at once, and one or two of the rest later. It is interesting to notice in the answers then given how the different phrasing of the same scruple made the difference between expulsion and

acceptance. Robert Betton, Commoner, who gave for his answer, "I will submit to your Visitation, so far as my conscience gives me leave," had to go. But another Commoner, who had concocted this delightfully double-faced reply, "Submission is yielded unto this present, and, as I suppose, lawful Visitation, by me, Charles Allman," was allowed to remain.

We have now to see how the College suffered both in peace and in reputation under the Visitors. At the end of 1650, the College was absolutely swept of its old Fellows. Of the ten Fellows who had been on the books in 1648, five had been expelled for non-submission or absence; one, Robert Crosse, was wholly non-resident; another, Gilbert Wats, was either under suspension or absent from College till 1652; and the others had been removed by promotion. The solitary link with the past was therefore the feeble, and in some respects contemptible, Rector.

The governing power in the University had thus a void College to fill up, and filled it mainly with what John Fell, not without justice, termed "the dregs of the neighbour University."

These transactions form the most notable story of the period.

The London Committee, at least the few Parliament men who were active on it, had been from the first jealous of the patronage exercised by the resident Visitors, and its members coveted places for their own favourites. The Lincoln vacancies proved an irresistible temptation.

As early as June 1648, a special Order of the London Committee was addressed to the Visitors requiring them

to induct John Taylor into a vacant fellowship at Lincoln, and the Visitors did so. In this case the hand which pulled the strings is perhaps visible, for in 1654 a special leave of absence for two years was given Taylor, because chaplain to William, Lord Saye.

In the next instances, the Committee ignored the Visitors and sent their mandates direct to the College. Three Cambridge men were thus put on the list of Fellows: Anthony Adlard, B.A. Emmanuel, in November 1649; Henry Eedes, of standing for B.A. at Cambridge, and Robert Whitchcot, B.A. Emmanuel, in February 1650. The Visitors were naturally indignant at the slight both to themselves and to their board of examiners, and they vigorously contested the two last appointments on the ground of the bad character of the nominees. Eedes was stated to have been, at the time of his nomination, "infamous in both Universities" (he had been recently at Magdalen Hall, whence he had taken B.A.), and there were suspicions about Whitchcot. On September 19, 1650, the Visitors asserted that the lives of these two since their admission had been "scandalous," "and of dangerous influence to youth." In January 1651, they reported that the two "are a burden and a grief to this day to the honest party of that house." A year later, February 1652, the same two, with Adlard, and George Hitchcock, a new arrival of the same kidney, were accused of causing great disturbances in College, affronting the Rector, and, secure in the support of the London Committee, of daring the Visitors to do their worst. The disturbances seem to have been of the nature of drinking bouts, for Eedes confessed to "rude and unbecoming noises" in

Whitchcot's rooms; Adlard admitted that he had "exceeding failed as a man, a scholar, and a Christian," and Whitchcot acknowledged "rude, disturbing noises" in his chamber "unbecoming a College and those of my profession." All three also admitted that they had been insolent, and apt both to take and give offence.

But in spite of all that could be urged, the Parliamentary Committee stuck by its nominees. On each occasion when the Visitors expelled them, it re-instated them; and when the Visitors punished them in other ways, it remitted the punishment. Henry Eedes was a naval chaplain; August 9, 1654, he had leave of absence "for a year, and further in case the English navy," sent out either under Robert Blake to the Mediterranean or under William Penn to the West Indies, "do not return."

The history of these two has carried us beyond the date of the admission of their colleague Hitchcock.

After what had happened the Visitors owed Lincoln one good tutor. When they promoted Thankful Owen to St. John's, they at once, September 19, 1650, nominated Robert Wood, of Merton, in his place. They had thus been too quick for the London Committee, who had had a nominee for the vacancy, and made inquiry about Wood. His testimonials as "a godly, able, and grave man" were however too good to be set aside, and he was left undisturbed; the more readily perhaps that they found another vacancy for George Hitchcock, who I suspect was their candidate, and placed him in it in November 1650. Robert Wood deserved, I think, his testimonials. During his time the College books are well kept by him, and he was a pro-

moter of natural science and, as became a member of Henry Savile's College, a mathematician.

In the beginning of October 1652 there was a more scandalous scene than ever. Robert Whitchcot struck and reproached John Barnard [Fellow 1648-1656] "publicly in the Hall, and he then sitting in the place of Sub-Rector and senior in the Hall." For this he was expelled by the College, but, as usual, reinstated by the Committee. The echoes of this conflict lingered for some days. On October 7, John Taverner, an undergraduate, made Fellow by the Visitors or the Committee, was fined "13s. 4d. for swearing two oaths, as appeared upon testimony." A few days later William Granger, B.A., was "publicly admonished for striking Mr. Taverner in the street."

On December 11, 1652, a mandate was received from Oliver Cromwell, Chancellor of the University, for the admission of William Sprigg. This William Sprigg, and Robert Wood, were in 1657 nominated by Oliver Cromwell to be two of the twelve Fellows in the College he proposed to endow at Durham out of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter.

It will be seen, then, that if the Civil War found a turbulent, quarrelsome set of Fellows in Lincoln College, the Commonwealth did not improve matters. By a singular coincidence, it was into this tiger's den, and just at the time when the strife was at its fiercest, that there came the College's greatest benefactor. Bishop Crewe's biography gives us one of our very rare glimpses into the undergraduate world, and, strangely enough, considering the other evidence about the times, it is a pleasant glimpse. Nathaniel Crewe entered Lincoln

College, along with a younger brother, in September 1652. He was already "a good master of the Greek and Latin tongues;" and, though he went in hard for the philosophical disputations of the Arts course, he did not allow them to interfere with "his progress in Classical learning."

"He was well versed in the best Roman and Greek writers. He was wont to repeat an Iliad in Homer every week for his diversion. His emulation with his servitor, who was a man of parts and an indefatigable student, made him rise at the earliest hours, and spend the day in the closest application, being . . . unable to bear the thought of being outdone."

THE CHAPEL.

The ritual of the Church was abolished, the Prayer-Book disused, and all was done "the Directory way," *i.e.*, in extempore prayers. Any act of piety which had the least shadow of a survival from the Church service, such as kneeling down when entering Chapel to say a private prayer, or repeating the Lord's Prayer at any time in public worship, was at once made a mock of.

There is one remarkable statement which shows that at Lincoln the intruded Fellows were disposed to thorough Independency. Unless the record lies, they sought to have the Chapel services conducted in turn by every member of the College, from the old Rector down to the last-joined freshman. On January 15 1651, *i.e.*, when, as has been shown, not a single Fellow of the old pre-Visitation stock was left in College, the London Committee ordered that

"whereas the Masters and Bachelors of Lincoln College in Oxon require the undergraduates to perform the duty

of prayer in the Chapel, it is thought fit and so ordered that the Masters and Bachelors only shall perform that duty unless the undergraduates of themselves be willing and desirous to perform the said duty."

PRAYER-MEETINGS.

The Chapel services did not furnish sufficient occasions of prayer for the spirit of the age. Anthony Wood says of these times: "Preaching and praying too much; and, if not for necessities," *i.e.*, to take food and sleep, "some would carry on these exercises a whole week together." He describes his own Merton tutor, Clinton Maund, as "a grand Presbyterian, always praying in his chamber." This not in secret, but with his pupils present. There is an order of the Visitors, July 4, 1653, that "every tutor in a College or Hall do, some convenient time between seven and ten in the evening, cause their pupils to repair to their chambers to pray with them."

SERMONS.

As seen in what Wood says above, the great business of life was to preach, if possible; or, as next best, to hear and take notes of, and be able to repeat, sermons.

Ample opportunities were given to all who wished to fulfil this function.

Take a Sunday of the period. In the morning, the College chapel supplied a sermon which extended from seven to nine. In the forenoon the undergraduate was allowed his choice of the parish churches. In the afternoon, there were "special preachers" at St. Mary's, noted men brought up from the country by invitation

of the Visitors to display their parts for the good of the University. And between six and nine in the evening a College officer presided at a meeting where every B.A. and undergraduate was required "to give a public account of the sermons they have heard and their attendance on other religious exercises on that day." The Head and all graduates were obliged to be present at this meeting "to take care that it be attended with prayer, and such other duties of religion as are proper to such a meeting." The reference in the last clause is to the singing of psalms, *i.e.*, in the metrical version, which Wood notes to have been a common practice "after supper on the Lord's day in some families." This evening meeting shows that attendance at the sermons was not left to the sole impulse of religious zeal; there was also compulsion.

On Tuesday mornings, from seven to nine, at St. Mary's, there was a sermon, undertaken by the Colleges in a cycle in which they took turns according to their numbers, Lincoln having one turn in thirty. This was an old arrangement, going back at least to James I.'s days.

But in the present age, there was hardly any day in the week unprovided with a regular course of sermons, supplied by individual graduates, zealous for their party, and desirous of the then highest title, that of "a painful and frequent preacher." John Conant, for example, Rector of Exeter College, had a "lecture" at All Saints' Church every Friday morning from seven to nine. Attendance at these courses was encouraged by granting undergraduates, who desired to frequent them, leave of absence from College chapel. Special care, however

was taken to checkmate the wily undergraduate who tried to play off sermon against chapel, and attend neither.

DISCIPLINE.

The two marked evils of the day were blasphemy and drunkenness, and the leaders of the Puritan party set themselves to repress these with all vigour.

According to Wood, they were so severe against swearing, the fashionable vice of the Cavaliers, that "if a scholar was found guilty of it, expulsion for the most part was his punishment: if any townsman, a forfeiture of money, the stocks, or prison." At Lincoln, if the instance of John Taverner (*see* p. 118) can be taken as the rule, the penalty was 6*s.* 8*d.* for each curse.

Drunkenness and frequenting taverns were checked both by punishment and by preaching. It is claimed as a chief merit of John Conant's Vice-Chancellorship that, even to late hours at night, he went his rounds, hunting scholars out of taverns.

INTEREST IN NATURAL SCIENCE.

The chief value of this period in the history of learning is that in it some finer spirits turned from disputation to observation, from taking their ideas from Aristotle and Calvin to seeking them in things, and thus prepared the way for the great modern triumphs of physical science.

William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was one of the first of these. John Aubrey, who knew him personally, tells us that his grief at the loss of his observations on insects when his goods were plundered at Whitehall at the beginning of the Civil

War, was the greatest in his life. In 1643 we find him at Oxford, in attendance on the king as his physician; and here he was constantly with friends in Trinity College, experimenting on the hatching of eggs.

In 1645 at the Mitre Tavern in Wood Street, London, John Wilkins, Jonathan Goddard, John Wallis, and others, had a weekly club, where the ordinary polemical topics were tabooed, and discussion confined to mathematical and physical subjects. The Visitation brought most of them to Oxford as heads and professors, and here they continued their favourite pursuits. In this trend of ideas Lincoln had both a personal and a local part. At first the movement was sporadic; "several scholars had private laboratories, and did perform those things which the memory of man could not reach." But in 1659 Robert Boyle brought to Oxford a German savant, Peter Sthael, and the solitary students now formed themselves into a class to study chemistry under his direction. Among his pupils, two Lincoln men are noteworthy, Nathaniel Crewe and Robert Wood. The room Sthael finally lectured in, just after the Restoration, was Lincoln property, the Ram Inn in High Street (now Nos. 113 and 114). Here, in Sthael's lecture-room, "an old hall or refectory at the back" (now the workshop of Mr. Goundrey, ironmonger), Anthony Wood gives us (in 1663) an odd glimpse of the famous John Locke.

"This John Lock" (he says) "was a man of a turbulent spirit, clamorous and never contented. The club wrote and took notes from the mouth of their master, who sat at the upper end of a table, but Lock scorned to do it; so that

while every man besides, of the club, were writing, he would be prating and troublesome."

COFFEE-HOUSES.

To this period belongs the introduction of coffee as a beverage.

The first coffee-house in Oxford was opened in 1650, in a small house near the "Angel" on the site of the present New Examination Schools. Its proprietor was Jacob, a Jew. In 1653, Cirques Jobson, a Syrian, had a coffee-house near St. Edmund Hall. In 1654, Arthur Tilliard opened one near All Souls, which was much frequented by the wits of that College, among them Christopher Wren. Coffee-houses soon became an established institution. They supplied a place other than the tavern, now grown odious, where students could meet on the pleasant terms of social equality, read the news-letters, and exchange ideas on politics and literature.

AMUSEMENTS.

The game most in vogue was "fives." Each College had its "ball-court." That at Lincoln was the court between the kitchen and Brasenose, now chiefly occupied by the new buildings of the Grove. It is in a very accidental way that the College books mention its existence at this time. In May 1654 John Curteyne was punished "for misbehaviour to the Rector in the ball-court and in the quadrangle." Curteyne, as "an undergraduate and freshman," had been put into a fellowship by the Visitors in 1650. He was a tippling friend of Anthony Wood, and it was his expulsion in 1660 which caused that antiquary to accumulate so much bile against Nathaniel Crewe.

Instrumental music was also much cultivated. Vocal music was under a cloud, as savouring of the discarded Church services ; but concerts, in which the organ, lute, viol, &c., were used, were greatly sought after. The Puritan domination had suppressed the Cathedral choirs throughout England, and many of the displaced organists came to Oxford. Here, by 1656, a weekly music-meeting had been formed, in which several of these, and several members of the University, took part. The place of meeting was the house of William Ellis, Mus. Bac., ejected organist of St. John's, on the north side of Broad Street, and east of Kettell Hall. The meetings were held every Tuesday. The house was a sort of tavern, and the members, at each meeting, took sixpence out in liquor for the good of the house. Anthony Wood gives us a jaundiced vision of Nathaniel Crewe at these meetings in 1659. He was, Wood says, "a violinist and violist, but always played out of tune as having no good ear." Another embryo-bishop, Thomas Ken, of New College, "would be sometimes among them, and sing his part." The meeting was broken up at the Restoration by so many of the members getting back into their places. Lincoln has another slender thread of connection with these meetings. Ellis's wife was the daughter of the cook of Lincoln College. Long afterwards, in 1680, Wood paid her a visit, and, by his account, she was a notable woman. "She told me she was then 104 years of age. She hath her senses and memory good about her, but her eyes are a little dim, and her ears deafish." She and her husband died in less than a year after Wood's visit.

THE BUILDINGS.

During this period there was a great destruction of stained glass. After describing the pictures of Saints, &c., in the windows, as cited above (p. 101), John Aubrey adds, "After 1647 they were all broken. Down went Dagon! Now no vestigia are to be found." Wood describes similar vandalism at Merton. This was the work, not of the soldiers at the surrender, but of the Fellows intruded by the Visitors. There is one College Order which suggests that the turbulent Fellows intruded into Lincoln by the London Committee may have made just such havoc there. In 1653 there must have been much broken glass in the College, for an order was then made that every commoner should "keep his chamber windows in repair after they have been once glazed by the College at his first coming into them."

The one structural change of importance during this period was the moving of the library from its original room into the old Chapel. This was done before April 1655, for a College Order then speaks of "the old library." If it is necessary to guess at a reason for the change, the following may be hazarded. On September 9, 1657, Dr. Gilbert Wats died, at Eynsham, on his way back from Bath, and bequeathed "three score pounds worth of books" to the College Library. It is more than probable that these books had been deposited in the College some years before, and that the Library was moved into the larger room to accommodate them. A College Order of November 24, 1654, is almost proof of this :

“leave was given to Dr. Watts to be absent from College for half a year, three months in winter at his own choice and three in summer of the next year ensuing, with his provision allowed him all the time. None to claim the like favour, unless they be stricken with Dr. Watts’ age and poverty.”

In November 1655, he had again leave of absence for half a year.

CHAPTER XI

THE RESTORATION

Rector (18th since the Foundation) : Nathaniel Crewe, Sub-rector 1659-61, 1663-68 ; Rector 1668-1672.

THE Restoration period, a time so fatal to society in general, deserved its name in the history of Lincoln College ; and witnessed the lifting up of the College from the depth into which it had been sunk to a reputation it had not held since the age of Mary Tudor. The man who chiefly effected this was Nathaniel Crewe. Enigmatical as his public life is in the reign of James II., his excellent influence in College during his abode there, and the splendid generosity of his benefactions, entitle him to the affection of all members of Lincoln.

THE PRESBYTERIAN PARTY CHANGES SIDES.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, September 3, 1658, the Commonwealth was doomed. He had been the eagle whose shadow hushed the chatter of the sparrows. But as soon as he was gone, men felt free to think and speak ; and the burden of all thought and talk was the tyranny of the despised Rump of the Long Parliament, and the terror which might come from the army.

By this time numbers of the Presbyterian party had

become very unhappy in their alliance with the Independents, and, in their anxiety to be quit of it, were willing to restore the Monarchy and with it the Church.

Among the leaders of this body of opinion was John Crewe of Stene, in Northamptonshire, M.P. for that county in the Long Parliament, but turned out by Col. Pride's "purge," December 6, 1648. He was one of the first to open those negotiations with George Monk which resulted in the recall of Charles Stuart, and was rewarded in April 1661 by being created Baron Crewe of Stene.

In Oxford his son, Nathaniel Crewe, now come to the front as the leading man of his College, pursued the same policy. Although a junior both in University and College standing, circumstances enabled Crewe to play, at this critical time, a considerable part in both. He had the inestimable advantage of the support of a father possessed both of influence and of ample means—his estate was not less than £4000 a year—and so was able to do many popular things from which his contemporaries were debarred. The great event of the Academical year was the Act, a week, generally at the beginning of July, of formal disputations completing the degree of Master in Arts and of Doctor in the Faculties, which had become also the "show" week of the University, and the occasion of a great concourse of visitors. The post of "senior inceptor" at the Act—*i.e.*, of first place on the roll of M.A.s of the year—was coveted for its splendour, but shunned for its expense. The Senior Inceptor was a figure in the public eye, but he had to entertain the Heads of Houses,

Proctors, Doctors, and others at a banquet. The Proctors were therefore careful to look out, among the graduates of the year, for a man of means and position on whom to lay the burden. In the Act of July 1658 Crewe held this place, and entertained the University in Lincoln College Hall at "a Vesper supper" of exceptional splendour. Of course, all who partook of his hospitality were ready to vote him "a gentleman of fine parts and the most accomplished good breeding."

About this time, Crewe began to whisper among his friends his inclinations to restore the king and the bishops. These whisperings were not kept so secret as not to come to the ears of the Independents, whose leader, John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, seeing Crewe one day pass, said to those beside him, "There goes a rotten Cavalier!"

His first overt act of hostility to the existing powers was an attack on the control of the University by the Parliamentary Committee and Visitors. On February 11, 1659, Anthony Wood was astonished by a visit from Crewe, then esteemed "a noted Presbyterian," canvassing for signatures to a petition asking Parliament to dissolve the Committee and the Board of Visitors.

RESTORATION OF CHURCH CEREMONIES.

In parish churches and college chapels, the surplice and the prayer-book were brought back, earlier or later, according to the temper of their governors. In St. Mary Magdalen parish church, a Christ Church benefice, the Church Service was used in April 1660, but in Puritan Merton not till the end of July. In Lincoln College Crewe was the first to appear in a surplice at the Chapel service.

The timid old Rector suggested to him the propriety of waiting for a College Order, but Crewe answered, "he thought everybody understood his duty in so plain a case."

ROYAL VISITATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

As Parliament had done in 1648 in self-defence, so now in 1660 the king's party had to do, partly in justice, partly in revenge. A Royal Commission was appointed to "visit" the University, to eject intruders, and restore those who had been expelled by the Parliamentary Visitors. Its first act, when it met on the last day of July 1660, was to eject the Vice-Chancellor, John Conant, Rector of Exeter, holding his title from Richard Cromwell (who had resigned his Chancellorship, May 8, 1660).

The new Chancellor, William, Marquis of Hertford (in September of this year, Duke of Somerset), elected October 24, 1643, and confirmed in his office by Parliament, June 5, 1660, had now a very subtle constitutional difficulty to get over, and his only way out of it was to constrain the old Rector of Lincoln to act as Vice-Chancellor. Of the *de facto* Heads of Houses at this time, all, except Hood, had taken their place since the Parliamentary Visitation, and therefore the nomination of any one of them to the Vice-Chancellorship would be a recognition of the validity of his headship. Hood stood alone, unquestionably head of a House *de jure*, elected and admitted years before the troubles. Accordingly, whatever his disinclinations, or his incapacity by reason of age and otherwise, or his personal unpopularity as "an old Puritan that ran with the times," Vice-Chancellor he had to be, August 1,

1660. His year of office must have been particularly hateful to the old man by his having to force Sir Thomas Clayton as Warden on the unwilling Fellows of Merton, and terribly burdensome from the multitude of Convocations held to admit to degrees by favour the crowds of candidates who professed to be sufferers for the royal cause, and got the king's or Chancellor's mandate, glad to confer rewards which cost them nothing. The accounts of his Vice-Chancellorship are accidentally interesting, as showing the action of the Treasury in dishonouring coin bearing the Commonwealth stamp. Hood paid in a balance of £459 3*s.* into the University chest, but this included £33 4*s.* 6*d.* in Parliament coin, on the exchange of which the Curators of the Chest lost 31*s.* 6*d.*

RESISTANCE IN LINCOLN COLLEGE.

The Royal Commissioners met with hardly any resistance. On August 2, they began to tender to all members of the University the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and, to the surprise of many, "all Presbyterians took them."

In most Colleges they followed a very safe and popular course. Where no ejected Head, Fellow, or scholar, appeared to claim his place, they silently allowed the holder of it to retain it, if he submitted. And, as it was now ten years from the time of ejection, the ranks of such claimants were thinned by death, marriage, promotion. Lincoln was apparently the only College where a different course was followed, the reason perhaps being the rooted animosity which there existed between the Presbyterian element and the turbulent

Independent faction. The procedure is unknown, the result is certain. In August 1660, the king's Commissioners ejected George Hitchcock, Anthony Adlard, William Sprigg, Robert Wood, and John Curteyne, from their fellowships in Lincoln, leaving the "two Presbyterian Fellows," Richard Knightley and Crewe, in possession of the field, with two older Fellows, and three others of not more than a year's standing.

One of the ejected, George Hitchcock, refused to go, and on September 22 the Commissioners sent a bedell to arrest him. He gave the officer the slip, ran up to his own room and, with drawn sword, defied his pursuers. Cautious old Hood called two of the king's commissioners into counsel, and, on their advice, offered twenty shillings to a Captain Bacon and his men, then in town, to effect the arrest. Hitchcock, on the arrival of the military, "sported his oak," but the soldiers forced it, and, after a scuffle in which Hitchcock himself and two Lincoln M.A.s who were in the room with him received sundry scratches, he was marched to jail in the Castle. Released after some weeks' imprisonment, he retired to London, to legal studies, in which he made such progress that when Hood went to town next Michaelmas term, Hitchcock "arrested him for false imprisonment, and gave him some trouble." Captain Bacon, also, he served in the same way. It appears by the Vice-Chancellor's accounts, that to the soldiers and others who made the arrest, the University paid £1 12*s.* 6*d.*; but in the suit at London to clear Hood of the business, the University had to drop £68 5*s.* 10*d.*

CLEAVAGE IN THE PRESBYTERIAN PARTY.

So far the Presbyterian policy had seemed to succeed. By calling in the Cavalier party, they had routed their enemies the Independents and swept them from the University, as from power in the state. The more earnest spirits of the party probably anticipated a period of controversy with the High Churchmen, hot but constitutional, after which they might arrive at some compromise such as appeared possible in the old days before Laud meddled and marred.

At any rate, unless we misread the somewhat obscure records of this year, both in the University and Lincoln College, the Puritan, Presbyterian, or Low Church party, received no rebuffs. Among the numerous degrees granted for real or pretended service to the royal cause, Anthony Wood notes favour shown to "some notorious Presbyterians." And in Lincoln College, it is certainly remarkable that Francis Jones, who was placed in a fellowship at Lincoln by recommendation of the king's commissioners, August 24, 1660, and Raphael Humphrey elected Fellow the same day, should both retire in 1662, apparently for Nonconformity.

But the Cavaliers, with the new Chancellor, Edward Hyde (elected October 1660, Earl of Clarendon next year), to urge them on, were in no mood for compromise. And, as they developed their policy, the Presbyterians began to drift apart from each other, some joining with and being absorbed in the adherents of the Court and the Church, others being driven forth from the University, and by-and-by harassed and persecuted, till they produced that ferment which brought about the

Revolution, the supremacy of Parliament, and Nonconformity.

FIRST MEASURES OF THE CHURCH PARTY.

The first object of the Church party was to replace what had been destroyed in the interval, and bring back everything to that outward seemliness and order which Laud had almost succeeded in effecting.

The surplice, the correct clerical dress (cassock, cincture, and clean-shaven face), the music of the organ, the chanting of the prose psalms, the intoning of the prayers of the service-book, all these had been scoffed at and trampled upon; now they were replaced and revered. At Christ Church on November 11, 1660, XXI Sunday after Trinity, when the organ was again played and the choir appeared in surplices, the crowd of spectators was oppressively large; and a little later at the restored services of the musical Colleges, Magdalen, New, St. Johns, "the resort of people was infinitely great."

These changes were in some cases surprising enough to those who witnessed them. Anthony Wood, always bitter against Crewe, can hardly contain himself, when he contrasts Crewe as he was, wearing "a plentiful beard," and "a Scotch habit," probably the formal black fine-cloth coat still affected by Nonconformist clergymen, with Crewe as he now appeared, with shaven face, and in the correctest of cassocks.

PRESBYTERIANISM ON ITS DEFENCE.

Against these measures the militant Presbyterians prepared to do battle, girding themselves for the conflict in the hope of turning defeat into victory.

The coarser spirits of the party set themselves to make the new, or rather newly re-introduced, ceremonies odious. Scotsmen know well how deeply rooted in their country is the prejudice against organ and surplice, from the former being compared to "a kist (box) of whistles," and the latter to a night-shirt. And just so, the Presbyterians at this juncture derided the organ as "the whining of pigs," the chanting of the Psalms as a tavern-chorus, and the surplice, especially in the case of choir-men, as a cloak of dissimulation under which notorious debauchees appeared in chapel in angelic apparel. Filthier insults were not wanting. On January 21, 1661, the choristers' surplices at Christ Church were smeared with ordure, and a ribald song, widely circulated, applauded the act. At Magdalen College men clad in surplices, with faces and hands blackened, paraded the cloisters in the twilight, to spread the report that Satan himself had adopted the surplice. And at Lincoln in the beginning of February 1661, a rude gentleman-commoner combined both insults. He came, wearing Crewe's surplice, with blacked face into the hall where the undergraduates were sitting round the common fire, and then, followed by an admiring crowd, he took it and plunged it in dirt.

The more gloomy Presbyterians sought, and found in some sudden deaths in Oxford this year, tokens plain of the divine wrath at the national apostasy; and pamphlet followed pamphlet, setting forth sudden, terrible judgments which had overtaken dancers at maypoles, actors of plays, mockers at preachers, and others of the ungodly.

Those who had both zeal and talents endeavoured

by incessant preaching to convince their followers that theirs after all was the better way, and that the new order of things was superstitious, Romish, and unscriptural. They had several things in their favour. Many of the restored heads and Fellows "had lost their learning" and become sottish creatures, a painful contrast to the better sort of the Commonwealth men. Among the "prelatical" party there was a fierce scramble for ecclesiastical promotion, so many rich benefices, canonries, &c., being vacant; and those who found that "for lack of money they could not speed," returned to Oxford with deep complaints about the venality of the Court. Generally there were doubts felt about the wisdom of that "leap in the dark" of the Restoration, taken when "the world of England was perfectly mad."

Anthony Wood is not a man whose own judgment carries conviction, but very often in his remarks on his times he uses without acknowledgment the opinions, expressed to him in conversation, of much wiser men than himself. It is therefore worth noticing that he believes that the Presbyterians might have in the long run retrieved their position, had the contest been decided by argument alone.

But the Chancellor, Clarendon, was a strong Churchman. On his first official visit, in September 1661, he refused the present of a handsome Bible from Henry Wilkinson, Puritan principal of Puritan Magdalen Hall, because it did not contain the Apocrypha. And he was a statesman who could frame measures to carry out his ideas. Hence the winnowing machine of the Act of Uniformity, by which on August 24, "Black"

St. Bartholomew, the Puritan or Presbyterian clergy were ejected from fellowships in the University and benefices in the country. Among those who went out at Oxford were John Conant, the Rector of Exeter, and five Fellows; and in New Inn Hall, Christopher Rogers, the principal, and seven of his students. From Lincoln two Fellows certainly went out, Francis Jones and Raphael Humphrey, "resigning" on August 15, by a polite fiction to escape the ignominy of expulsion on the 24th, and possibly a third, Robert Speare.

• NATHANIEL CREWE'S PROCTORSHIP.

All was now prepared to show Charles a University purged of opposition and ready to fall down and worship him. Accordingly, in September 1663, Clarendon was able to welcome at Oxford, with pompous ceremonial, the king and queen, with the Duke and Duchess of York, and, significant appendages, the Countess of Castlemaine and the Duke of Monmouth! The visit gave Crewe the opportunity of his life, by which he was not slow to profit. He was Senior Proctor this year, and the speech with which the king was welcomed to the Bodleian Library fell to him. A graceful speaker, and a courtier, he so pleased Charles that he wanted to knight him on the spot, but the honour was declined "because he designed going into holy orders." Circumstances were soon to show that Crewe, in pursuing his course, had at least the quality of resolution. When the king left, the Chancellor recommended several persons for honorary degrees. One of them was his own chaplain, Robert South, of Christ Church, the celebrated preacher. South was

most unpopular, even with Royalists such as Anthony Wood, because of the suddenness and violence with which he had changed from a Commonwealth man to an extreme High Churchman. When his name was proposed for D.D., there was a tempest-shout of *Non* in the Convocation house; but Crewe calmly, after taking the votes, pronounced the grace passed: "majori parti placet."

At the end of his year, Crewe was able to score another point. It was his duty, as senior Proctor, to deliver a Latin speech,* recounting the events of the year; and, in token of going out of office, to hand over to the Vice-Chancellor the *Liber Niger*, the "black book" in which the proctors enter for the private information of their successors the heavier punishments of the year. Crewe, in the course of what the prejudiced Wood calls a "light, vain, silly speech," and which therefore we may suppose to have been pleasanter listening to than many more academical discourses, transferred the accusing record to the Vice-Chancellor as "ne vel unâ maculâ nigrior," "unstained by any fresh blot." Thunders of applause drowned any whispers that the happy result had come more from procuratorial remissness than from undergraduate virtue.

CREWE'S SUB-RECTORSHIP.

Crewe was now the real governor of the College. Hood was almost blind with old age, as is seen by his

* The speech is still delivered. It is now the happy custom to place a MS., or printed copy, in the Bodleian, so that future ages may judge what those most concerned with the discipline of the University thought of it.

signature to College Orders, where it is plain that the pen was put for him to the place at which he was to sign, and from thence the trembling letters sprawl over the page, sometimes over the text of the document, sometimes over the Fellows' signatures which had already been attached. The whole authority of the Headship necessarily devolved on Crewe, now Senior Fellow, who was elected Sub-rector year after year.

The suggestions of his enemy, Wood, that in his Proctorship of the University, Crewe had been culpably lenient may, or may not, be true. There is certainly no trace of such slackness in his conduct as disciplinary officer in College. He there acts with a decision to which the College had long been a stranger. One case will serve as a type. In July 1664, Ralph Ward, a servitor, had behaved "after a most impudent manner" to William Adams, Fellow 1662-1666. Crewe at once expelled him. It was only after his abject submission had moved Adams himself to intercede for him, and after his reading an apology publicly in the Hall upon his bended knees, that Crewe was induced to withdraw the expulsion.

CREWE'S RISE.

Not only in College, but at Court, and in the Church, all things were smooth for Crewe, as the son of a lord.

In 1664, the Chancellor, Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, asked his D.C.L. for him at an easy rate, since he deserved "no less to be valued for his parts and learning than for the condition of his birth."

His examination for holy orders consisted in his being asked by John Dolben, Dean of Westminster, to turn into Latin, for himself and the lucky candidate who appeared with him, "I have examined them and find them qualified for ordination." On his answering, "*Satis exploratos habui eosque idoneos judico ut in sacros ordines initientur*," the complaisant Dean remarked, "Oh, I'll examine you no further!" George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, then ordained him deacon and priest on the same day, by dispensation from Archbishop Sheldon. Morley was Dean of the Chapel Royal, and presented Crewe, as now in holy orders, to the king, who said to him, "I'm glad that *gentlemen* are taking upon them the service of the Church, and I promise to take care of you." And on Guy Fawkes' day, 1666, Crewe became a chaplain in ordinary to the king.

As Clarendon's influence declined, Crewe, who, a better courtier than a churchman, was willing to be complaisant to Lady Castlemaine, rose in favour, and by 1668, he was believed to be a power in the Court.

CREWE'S RECTORSHIP.

Hood died on August 2, 1668. I am inclined to think that at his death the old records of the College were lost. They were probably kept in the Rector's lodgings, regarded as his property by his executors, and made waste paper of. It is, at all events, a suspicious coincidence that the earliest existing buttery-book should begin in 1670, and the earliest admission-book in 1673.

Crewe had unmistakably been heir-apparent and

regent, for, notwithstanding his absence at Court, he had been continued in the sub-rectorship, an office always important, but especially so in those years of Hood's dotage.

A letter from College was sent off to Crewe on August 2, telling him of Hood's death, and inviting him to accept the headship. The king gave him leave of absence from his duties as chaplain. On Monday, August 10, he left London, and on Wednesday was elected Rector "*unanimi consensu omnium suffragantium.*" He was installed in All Saints' Church, September 17.

Crewe's appointment was in many respects a strange one. It is plain that there was no intention that he should give up his attendance at Court to reside in College. When Archbishop Sheldon asked him to serve as Vice-Chancellor in 1669, he "excused himself on account of his obligation to attend at Court." The College, therefore, clearly liked Crewe personally, and looked for advantage from his influence.

In 1671 Crewe was made Bishop of Oxford, and, being fond of splendid hospitality, on his consecration "gave so noble an entertainment that the Archbishop said it was the finest he ever saw." He continued to hold his headship, an arrangement very distressing to John Fell, ever jealous for the supremacy of his Christ Church. The tune changed when Fell himself was offered the bishopric, and continued to be Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford from 1676 to 1686.

A year later, October 1672, Crewe came to Lincoln, and, according to his custom, "entertained the Society

in the handsomest and most generous manner that was possible." On the 18th he took his departure, escorted to the gate by the Fellows. As soon as he had stepped into the street, he turned and "gave them his resignation, thinking it proper to continue governor of the College as long as he was in it."

His further promotion need not be followed here, except to note that, as fast as the influence of his patron, the Duke of York, pushed him up, the odium attaching to him, as a Romanist in disguise, spread abroad. One redeeming feature throughout his later years is his steady affection for his old College, and his unceasing kindness to its members.

CONDITION OF THE COLLEGE.

In the rectorship of Crewe the College was brought to a far higher position than it had held before.

If we take the ten Fellows then on the foundation, we find three of them men of eminence. George Hickes, Fellow 1664-1681, afterwards Dean of Worcester, widely known in his own day as a High-church controversialist, will ever be famous in philology as the pioneer of Scandinavian studies. Thomas Marshall, who was now elected Rector in Crewe's place, was honourably known as a Biblical and Saxon scholar. John Radcliffe, Fellow 1670-1675, became the noted physician of Queen Anne's time.

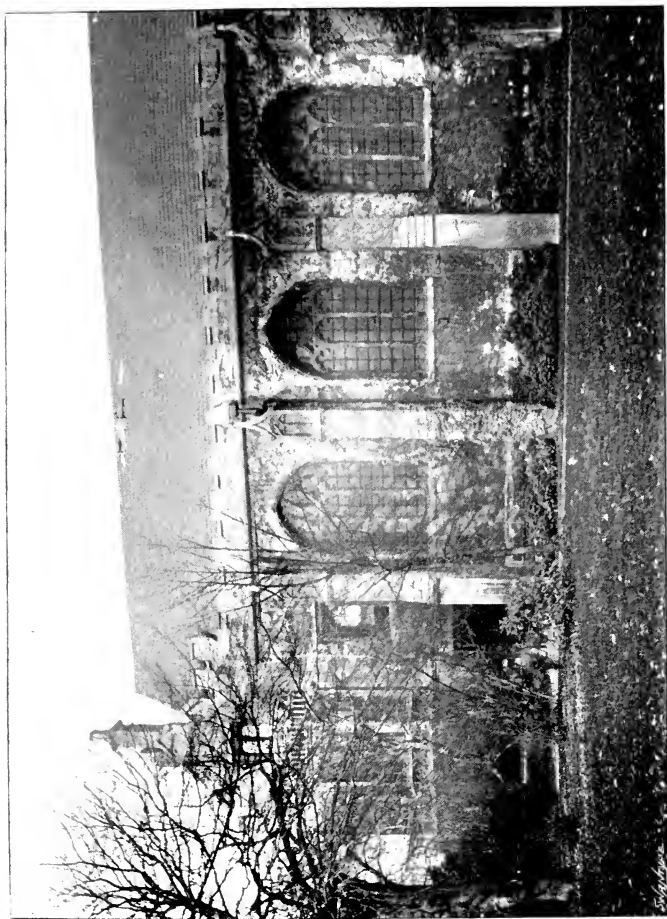
The finances of the College had been put on a sound footing, by suspending for a time two fellowships and the College was soon able to maintain twelve Fellows.

Great improvements had been made in the rooms. Wood notes that when the city surrendered to Fairfax

in 1646, the Colleges were found in a very ruinous condition from the neglect of the rude soldiers and careless courtiers who had occupied them. Little was done to remedy this disaster during the troubles of the Commonwealth. But at the Restoration a tide of improvement set in. The beginning of it in Lincoln College came from the Crewes. When Nathaniel Crewe was elected Sub-rector in 1660, John Crewe, his father, turned the old library into a handsome set of rooms and did much to fit up properly the new library (the old Chapel). He spent nearly £200 on the work, and the College in gratitude decreed that Crewe should have these rooms not only for the tenure of his fellowship, but for his life. Other Fellows followed the example, and there are constant notes in the College register of rooms improved by their occupiers.

The College was as full of undergraduates as its rooms would permit. The University matriculation-book gives the admissions in the five years 1668-72, as 21, 7, 11, 11, 13—a higher average than prevailed in the later Georgian epoch.

But the remarkable and glorious feature of this rectorship is the splendid generosity of members of the College. Crewe and Marshall were benefactors to the Bodleian library, and special benefactors to their own College. Radcliffe doubled the buildings of University College in his lifetime, and the trustees under his will enriched the University with the Library of scientific books, science with the Observatory, and the city of Oxford with the Infirmary, which bear his name. In this liberality, the undergraduates of Crewes day have their share. George Wheler, gentleman-commoner in



From a Photo by thec

Plate I'

CHAPEL FROM THE GARDEN

[Oxford Camera Club]

1668, and Fitzherbert Adams, Commoner in 1669, afterwards Rector, being considerable benefactors to the College.

SOCIAL GRADES IN THE COLLEGE.

We are now able for the first time to find in the College-books clear information about the social distinctions of the age.

First of all came the gentlemen-commoners, or, as they were sometimes called, the Fellow-commoners. These were on social equality with the Fellows, and had not "to go bow before the Fellows as other commoners do." They, like the Fellows, had keys of the library. If there were less than four of them at any time in the College, they dined at the Fellows' table. If they could muster four, they had a separate table of their own, and had "their commons brought to them next after the Fellows," but, probably to prevent prolonged potations, were obliged "to rise from table at dinner and supper so soon as the Fellows' grace-cup is brought up." They were excused several of the College exercises which other members had to perform. They were required to present the College with a piece of plate of £10 (or more) in value, of which, however, during their residence in College they had the exclusive use. They had also to contribute to the "College concert" of the age, being required to pay "40 shillings for gaudies on our music-day." For their first institution, see page 60.

Next after them came the Commoners, corresponding to the present undergraduates.

Then, "the Scholars of the House," *i.e.*, the four

Traps scholars, occupying an ambiguous position between student and servant. Their yearly salary from the endowment had at one time been augmented by the College, but in the hard times of 1655, when the College was in debt, this was withdrawn, and they received only "the yearly rent given to their use, viz., £2 16s. 8d. a year each." In 1662 they were excused certain table charges ("decrements"), in consideration of which they were "to wait upon the Fellows at their table." With them may be placed the Bible-clerk, who was the Rector's messenger.

Then came battlers and servitors, half-student, half-servant. The exact distinction between the two is not shown in the College books. Both had to serve the tables in hall.

HALL DINNER.

We get also some precise information about the time and the ceremonies of the Hall dinner.

The hour was eleven A.M. So soon as St. Mary's clock had struck that hour, the scholar whose turn it was to say grace had to find out which of the Fellows would be senior at table, and then to tell the butler to ring the bell. When the hall was filled, the call for grace was made, probably, as now, by knocking on the table with a wooden trencher.

After grace, a chapter was read by the Bible-clerk, and then the undergraduates in turn had to "repeat without book some part of a poet, historian, or other Classic author, which the repeater chooses and the Subrector allows." The fine for neglect was half a crown. This repetition was ordered in November 1668, and

was an innovation due, perhaps, to the *belles-lettres* disposition of Crewe.

Commons were then served. Presence at Hall dinner was strictly enforced. No Commoner or undergraduate of lower rank was to be absent from Hall at dinner-time without leave, under penalty of one shilling. The servitors noted absentees, and told the Bible-clerk, who presented a list of them to the Sub-rector during dinner.

The signal for the conclusion of dinner was the "grace-cup" being sent up to the Fellows' table. This ceremony is still retained at the College gaudy on All Saints' Day. It is a large two-handled cup, of mulled ale, which is passed from man to man across the table, with the words, as it is passed, "*Poculum caritatis*" (from whence its other name of "the loving-cup"). It is *de rigueur* also that at each moment of its passing down the table three persons should be standing, he who has drunk, the man who has the cup in his hand, and the other who is about to receive it. This number of three, and the words used, might warrant a conjecture that we have here a ceremony handed down from the *agapæ*, the love-feasts, of early Christian times.

Next "the latter grace" was said. The Fellows then filed out of Hall, each as he passed the door turning and bowing courteously to the Hall, a ceremony omitted since Radford's time from the ridiculous accident of one of the Fellows falling flat when making his bow.

SUPPER.

Supper was also served in Hall, and similar rules were laid down for securing a Fellow to be senior and for compelling the attendance of undergraduates.

THE COMMON-ROOM.

The chief social change of the age was the institution of common-rooms, where the Fellows might spend the evening in social converse. Previously, they had either sat long over supper, beside the hall fire, or else had adjourned to some tavern.

At Lincoln the common-room dates from 1662. On August 5 that year, it was ordered that "the chamber under the library westward be set apart and appropriated to the use of the Fellows for their common fires and any other public meetings." College meetings had hitherto been held either in chapel or in the Rector's lodgings.

This "chamber" is the present common-room, under the library (moved to its present site about 1655, and just fitted up by John, Lord Crewe); the "westward" is added to distinguish it from a room, now the grocery store, then "eastward" under the library. Some of the windows of the common-room and the passage to it are shown in one of our plates in the view of the Hall from the west.

The room was at first quite plain, but was in 1684 furnished with its fine dark chestnut wainscoting. No better frame can be imagined for a group of friendly talkers, in the glow of a good fire and the soft light of a shaded lamp.

The bill was as follows :

“ Expenses in wainscotting and furnishing the Common-room :

	£	s.	d.
Frogley the joyner's bill	68	17	8
Piesley the mason's bill	6	0	6
Collison the slatter's bill	2	5	0
carpenter's bill	12	4	4
Hammon		12	0
Upholsterer's bill	4	12	6
	<hr/>		
	£94	12	0”

The College share was £23 10s. The rest was given by subscription, John Radcliffe giving £10, and John Kettlewell, Fitzherbert Adams, and George Hickes, each £5.

STUDIES.

The old disputations were still carried on, but certain new exercises show Crewe's innovating “humanistic” spirit.

In 1663, it was ordered that all undergraduates, except freshmen, should “declaim” on certain Saturdays and “make and shew themes” on other Saturdays to the Sub-rector in Hall.

CHAPTER XII

CHARLES II

Rector (19th since the Foundation): Thomas Marshall, 1672-1685.

DURING the rest of Charles's reign, the good government begun by Crewe was continued by his successor, Marshall. It was politically a very troubled time, and the peace of the College was consequently endangered, but Marshall's wisdom and tact minimised the disturbance.

VISIT OF FRANCISCUS JUNIUS.

In 1676, Marshall's reputation as a Teutonic scholar, and perhaps some former friendship when Marshall was in Holland, brought an interesting visitor to Oxford. In October that year the veteran philologist, Franciscus Junius, now in his eighty-eighth year, came to Oxford "for the sake of Dr. Thomas Marshall." He came "with the intention to lay his bones here, and give his MSS. to the Bodleian." He took rooms at first in Turl Street, just opposite the College, but moved afterwards to larger, and possibly quieter, rooms in St. Ebbe's parish. The first part of his intention was accidentally frustrated; for he died at Windsor (November 19, 1677) when on a farewell visit to his nephew, Isaac Vossius. But his precious MSS. were secured for the Bodleian. Marshall was one of the people employed by

the Library to bring the treasures to Oxford, and his travelling expenses to Windsor were paid by the University.

ORDINATION IN THE CHAPEL.

About 1677 the Visitor, Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln 1675, held an ordination in Lincoln Chapel, and so drew on himself and the College the indignation of the choleric John Fell, Bishop of Oxford 1676. The narrator is Fell's secretary, William Nicols, M.A. Ch. Ch. 1677.

“The only time he remembers to have seen the Bishop in a passion was after Dr. Barlow became Bishop of Lincoln, and 'twas for this reason that Dr. Barlow did not ordain in his own diocese, but in Lincoln College, within Dr. Fell's diocese, just as if he designed it on purpose to affront him. One morning, being just before the Ordination, Dr. Fell went early to Lincoln College where Dr. Barlow then was, and expostulated the case very warmly with him, told him that 'twas a shame for him to act thus, that 'twas against the Canons and that he would have him punished. Barlow replied that he would justify what he did, and that he did not value his threats. Upon which Bishop Fell went away with much indignation, and just at the College gate he met Dr. Marshall (for whom he had a very great respect); yet now he told him also that he would make him sorry for what he had done in admitting Bishop Barlow to come and ordain in the College, within his diocese, without his permission.”

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1681.

Oxford was the scene of the final conflict in which Charles overthrew the Parliamentary opposition. Having, in two years, dissolved two Parliaments on the

question of excluding his Romanist brother from the succession, Charles resolved to call another Parliament at Oxford.

In January the University was told his royal pleasure that, to provide room for the Court and for Parliament, all B.A.s and undergraduates were to be sent to the country, counting the time of their absence as though it had been in residence. The College therefore was emptied in the beginning of March.

It was Crewe who preached before the king at the Cathedral on Sunday morning, March 20, and, as was natural in so ardent a champion of the king's prerogative, the sermon "gave great content." Next morning Parliament met, and the Commons again pressed on the Exclusion Bill. But Charles, certain that their day was declining, dissolved them that day week, Monday, March 28. Hence this parliament was popularly known by the "carpet-bag" name of "the week-ed Parliament," invented to express its seven days' duration and its wicked republican aims.

All was now over, except the hanging. Charles felt strong enough to secure his position by sending his opponents to the scaffold. The one selected to suffer in Oxford was Stephen Colledge, "the Protestant joiner," whose invention of a folding pocket-flail for defence against Romanist assassins had been one of the enthusiasms of the Popish Plot days. He was brought to the Castle on August 15, 1681, condemned to death on the 18th, and bravely met his fate on the 31st. Marshall, by Bishop Fell's request, to whom he was possibly chaplain, had visited the condemned man to offer spiritual ministrations.

ROYAL VISIT OF 1683.

In 1683 the Duke of York, accompanied by his new duchess (Mary Beatrice) and his younger daughter (the Lady Anne, afterwards queen), paid a state visit to Oxford. Contrary to the practice of the day, which was wisely satisfied with a few show places, they made a point of visiting every College, and had a surfeit of speeches and verses. Their visit to Lincoln was paid about 6.30 P.M., on Monday, May 21, when the Rector and Fellows received them at the College gate. Marshall made two speeches, one in Latin for the honour of the gentlemen and another in English for the benefit of the ladies, both (as is plain from the time-bill) commendably short. "After that they saw the chapel, which they liked well."

THE CASE OF JAMES PARKINSON.

The Rye House plot (June 1683) to murder Charles and his brother naturally called forth the indignation of the nation, nowhere more than in Oxford, which the Duke of York had so recently visited.

Two interesting events were the result; in the University, the burning of republican books; in Lincoln College, the case of James Parkinson.

On July 21, 1683, the University in Convocation solemnly condemned "certain propositions taken out of several rebellious and seditious authors," both old (as John Knox and George Buchanan) and new (as John Milton and Richard Baxter), and thereafter, in the Schools quadrangle, had a bonfire kindled in which the offending books were burned.

Parkinson had been, for some years, a nettle in the

bosom of the Royalist party in Lincoln. It was his misfortune, not only to be extreme in opinion, but to have a sharp tongue, under no control. He began his course by earning expulsion from Corpus Christi College through telling a relative of the President, that "it was scandalous to be a Newlin." It was possibly the case that Newlin and nepotism coincided in more than two initial letters, but that was a thing which an undergraduate had better have left unsaid. Being put on his mettle by his expulsion, in July 1674, at the Act, "Jacobus Parkinson, ex Aula Cervina" (Hart Hall) in a disputation with William Green of Trinity on the theme—

"An Scotus" (Duns) "Cicerone melius dixerit"

so bore himself that Anthony Wood noted approvingly that he did "verie well." This gave Parkinson's friends an opportunity of pressing him on William Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, who appointed him in November following to the Lincoln fellowship in his nomination. By 1680 he was known in the University as a strong democrat, who made himself offensive to the "loyal" members of his College by "commonly calling them fools and dunces." As the king's power increased, he spoke the more vehemently against it. In a sermon at St. Michael's, probably on Michaelmas Day 1682, he ran full tilt at the popular doctrine of passive obedience, expounding his text (Romans xiii. 1, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers") as to be so understood "that a *duke* or a *prince* was not to be look't on as a king of France." And to his pupils in College he recommended John Milton "as an antidote

against Sir Robert Filmore, who was too high a Tory."

On several occasions attempts were made to have him dealt with by the College; but Marshall, probably seeing the political and personal nature of the dispute, refused to act.

In 1683 when the University burned "John Milton," Parkinson had the courage or effrontery to be present, and was hissed. This expression of opinion encouraged his personal opponents to proceed against him in the University courts, with the result that he was expelled from the University, September 6. He was also removed from his fellowship, not by vote of the College, but by sentence of the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln (Thomas Barlow), who, on September 26, nominated as his successor Henry Cornish, M.A., commoner of the College. Parkinson was afterwards Master of the school at Birmingham.

DEATH OF THE KING AND OF THE RECTOR.

On Wednesday, February 4, 1685, news came to Oxford that Charles had had an apoplectic stroke, and that day at the evening service in Lincoln and other College chapels prayers were offered, by command of the Vice-Chancellor, for his recovery. Next day's "Gazette" announced that he was "well recovered," and that evening, in the general thanksgiving, the Colleges were directed to return thanks "particularly for the deliverance lately granted to our Sovereign Lord the King, whom in thy unspeakable love to this church and nation thou hast brought back from the gates of death and continued in the land of the living."

But on Saturday afternoon it was known in Oxford that Charles was dead.

No time was lost in declaring his successor. The ceremonial of proclaiming James II. king was performed in Oxford with unusual solemnity on Wednesday, February 11, 1685; and that evening there were bonfires in the quadrangles of all Colleges, round which the Fellows drank healths to James II., to his Queen (Mary Beatrice), and, perhaps more heartily, to the Protestant heirs presumptive, the princess of Orange (Mary) and the princess of Denmark (Anne). Then the authorities withdrew, to let the undergraduates and servants carry on the rejoicings, pledging healths in tankards of College beer, and firing off muskets and "cracks," as the rudimentary fireworks of the age were called.

In the midst of this noise the Rector was dying. A heavy cold, continuing on him for six months, had brought him very low, and on Easter eve, April 18, an hour before midnight, his spirit passed. He was sixty-three.

MARSHALL'S BENEFACTION.

When his will was opened, it was found not only that he had shown himself most beneficent to the College but that he had thoughtfully tried to strengthen it at the point where it was weakest.

He had a remarkable "study" of books, as the phrase then was, containing not only ponderous volumes of theological scholarship but a great collection of the then depreciated, and now infinitely more prized, polemical pamphlets of the time. These pamphlets he divided between his executor, John Kettlewell (Fellow 1675-1683; in 1682, vicar of

Coleshill, Warwick), and the College. The College was to have seventy-seven volumes in quarto "most concerning the late troubles in England," a splendid collection of Civil War tracts which are the pride of the library. Kettlewell was to have all his Socinian books "to be for his own use, not for others who may be corrupted."

His larger books, MS. or printed, he disposed of between the Bodleian and the College library. The Bodleian, represented by its librarian, was to have the pick; then his executor was to give the College "all such remaining books as are not in it, which he shall think fit."

His other books, furniture, and everything else, were to be sold; and, after payment of some personal legacies (one of £20, it is a pleasing duty to note, to the widow of his "much honoured schoolmaster," Francis Foe, who matriculated at Lincoln in 1625), the proceeds were "to purchase lands—for the maintenance of some poor scholars in Lincoln College."

The bequest, proportionately to Marshall's means, was a noble one, for he gave all that he had; and in regard to the College, a most wise one, for the chief source of weakness in Lincoln was that it had small inducement for a clever lad to enter it. It is the more to be regretted that Marshall's good intentions have been frustrated from neglect to observe the exact words of his will.

Kettlewell appears to have committed the realisation of the estate to Marshall's successor, Fitzherbert Adams, whose statement of accounts shows that after defraying charges of £230 16s. 3d., there was a balance

of £601 6s. 7d., which was paid to the College, July 4, 1688. A further sum of £300 lent to a London merchant had to be written off as a bad debt.

In the investment of this sum the caution of the time greatly damaged the College in the far future. Instead of buying "land" as Marshall directed, the College bought (1) a rent-charge of £14 in the Forest of Dean, which cost £263 10s. 0d., and £36 1s. 0d. expenses; and (2) a rent-charge in Brill, Bucks, of £12, which exhausted the balance £301 15s. 7d., and about £11 of the College money. The investments were "safe," and are still paid. The Forest of Dean one has, it is true, cost the College a long legal investigation of title, and an opinion that the rent-charge is of exceptional interest, being a charge on the produce of the chestnut-trees in that Forest. But had the money been strictly invested "in land" as Marshall asked, what a splendid succession of "Marshall's scholars" the College would have had, and would now have, even with agricultural depression.

CHAPTER XIII

JAMES II

Rector (20th from the Foundation): Fitzherbert Adams, 1685-1719.

THE short reign of James II., a sad time of disorder in several Oxford Colleges, was in Lincoln a featureless period of peace and material progress.

CONTEST FOR THE HEADSHIP.

Thomas Marshall had died, April 18, 1685. The election of a successor took place on May 2. The College was divided, and the fact that both candidates were non-resident, and beneficed, suggests that the Headship was still a poor one. One party wished to elect George Hickes, Dean of Worcester since 1683, unquestionably the greatest Lincoln name of the age. At the election he received three votes, but the other eight were cast for Fitzherbert Adams. The choice proved a wise one. Adams's contemporary reputation as "a man of learning" added dignity to his office; his prudence and good government gave the College years of unbroken happiness: and his business abilities wrought a great improvement in the College finances.

According to Wood, the election was determined by the exertions of John Radcliffe, ex-fellow, who over-awed the electors by predicting that Hickes would

prove a veritable King Stork : " he was," Radcliffe said, " a turbulent man, and if he should be Rector they should never be at quiet."

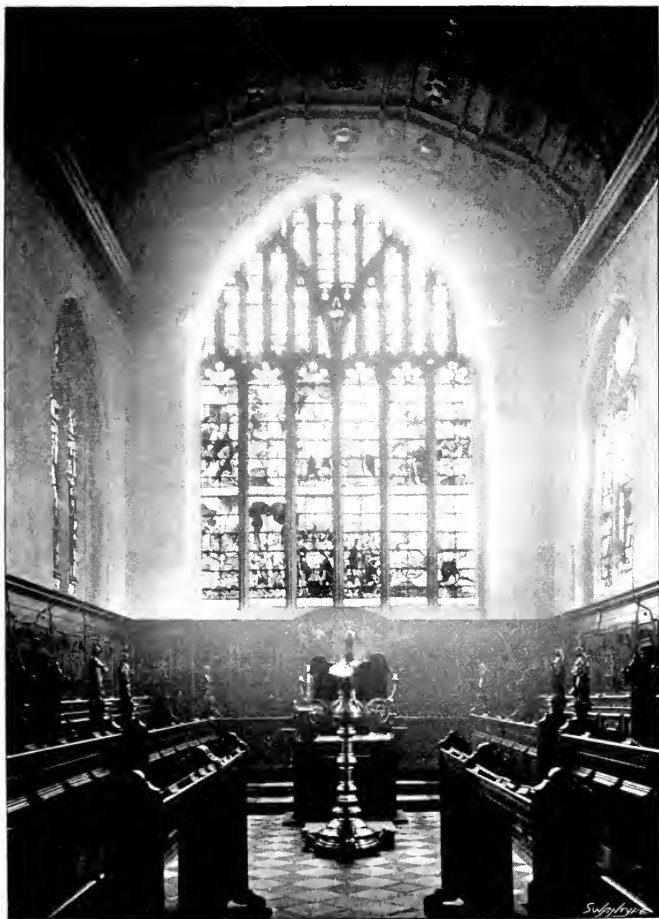
There may be some truth in this. It is not impossible that Radcliffe had had, and now remembered, personal experience of Hickes's masterful ways. Hickes had been Sub-rector in 1675, the year in which Radcliffe had resigned his fellowship, having failed to persuade the College to change the condition of its tenure from theology to medicine. Hickes, no doubt, had opposed the proposed change of statutes.

But, on the other hand, the more moderate position taken by Adams in the politics both of Church and State must have strongly commended him to a College predominantly Whig in feeling, as also to Radcliffe who was noted as " a parliament man." Lord Crewe's influence must also be counted for much, and he was Adams's especial patron, his last acts as Rector having been to preside at the meetings in which Adams was elected and admitted Fellow.

Later on Adams paid a most graceful tribute to his rival. When his own portrait, as a benefactor, was asked for the Hall, he presented instead a portrait of Hickes to be hung there, as a Lincoln man of whom the College ought to be proud. Hickes, who died 1715, bequeathed books to the College.

Adams came from London to Oxford on May 8, to be admitted to the Rectorship ; and, according to the custom of the day, the College went out to escort him. He was thus " brought into Oxon by about forty people, mostly of his own house." ' .

He had soon stirring events to deal with.



From a Photo by the]

[Oxford Camera Club

INTERIOR OF CHAPEL

Plate VI



THE UNIVERSITY UNDER ARMS.

On June 11, 1685, Oxford received the news that Monmouth had landed, and that the West was rising. On the 25th the University resolved to raise a volunteer force of their own body for the king's service, comprising a troop of horse and a regiment of foot, the arms and ammunition being furnished by the royal arsenal at Windsor.

The arrangements were more elaborate than on any former occasion on which "the University militia" had been called out. The foot regiment consisted of six companies, each with its flag, having the national red cross of St. George on a white canton in the inner top corner, and on the rest of the flag, quarterly black and white, some disposition, distinctive of the company, of the golden crowns of the University arms.

The fifth company, presumably from 100 to 120 strong, was made up from Trinity, Wadham, and Lincoln. Each College supplied an officer: Trinity, the captain, Philip Bertie, third son of the Earl of Lindsey, Fellow-commoner; Wadham, the lieutenant, William Latton, a Fellow; and Lincoln, the ensign, William Adams, a Fellow, and apparently cousin of the Rector. The company's drill-ground was Trinity College Grove. This fifth company was never called out for service.

On July 7, there was a rumour that the rebels had been defeated (at Sedgemoor, July 5), and the troop of horse and first foot company (All Souls and Merton) were marched to Islip to intercept any fugitives who might be making for London. On the 9th, despatches

arrived confirming the news of the complete victory of the royal troops, and that night Oxford was noisy with bell-ringing and ablaze with bonfires.

The officers of the University regiment had provided themselves with gallant uniforms: scarlet coats secured by scarfs round the waist, and hats with white plumes. It would, therefore, have been hard on them had the regiment been disbanded before they had had a chance of appearing in their bravery, and so, on July 13, there was a full-dress parade in Christ Church meadow before the Earl of Abingdon, Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire.

ATTEMPT TO ROMANISE OXFORD.

Hardly had the rebellion been crushed, when ominous signs of graver troubles appeared. Putting forward as his pretext the unmistakable sympathy with the rebels shown by some of the county regiments of militia which had been called out, James proceeded to collect a standing army, and Oxford, and the whole country, at once overflowed with sinister rumours, "for," as Wood noted in August, "the fanatics"—*i.e.*, Nonconformists—" (nay, some sober men) thought that this army was to bring in popery and arbitrary government."

Oxford Protestantism had good reasons to be suspicious. Several who had hitherto concealed their inclinations to Romanism now took heart to admit them. The least a Catholic king could do would be to protect his Catholic subjects, and very likely he would also promote them.

The trouble showed itself both in the press and in the pulpit. At the thanksgiving for Sedgemoor on July 26, the preacher, Nathaniel Boys of University

College, had "several passages savouring of popery," and was compelled by the University to recant, August 1. But the king, at Whitehall on October 13, in a personal interview, told the preacher "that he was well pleased with the sermon, and that it was an ingenious discourse and well penned." He took also the opportunity of sending a message by Boys to Obadiah Walker, Master of University, whose "Life of Christ" the Vice-Chancellor, on the advice of Bishop Fell and the Regius Professor of Divinity (William Jane), had tried to suppress because of Romanist passages, that "it was a very good book, and he wondered how any one should find fault with it."

And so the struggle deepened, the king coming more and more into antagonism with the University, as with the church and the nation.

In the struggle itself, Lincoln College, too poor to attract the king's zeal to try its conversion, and kept quiet under the judicious government of Adams, had no share. The glory and the shame of the conflict belong elsewhere, to University College, to Magdalen, to Christ Church.

It was, however, a Lincoln man, Edward Hopkins, Fellow 1675-1716, who was Senior Proctor in the troublesome year of 1686-87, when a portion of the king's troopers were billeted in Oxford. He had therefore to leave off his duty of walking the streets and "drawing" the taverns. In the next reign, in 1692, under similar circumstances, a more zealous proctor had an unpleasant evening. Seeking his undergraduate prey, he forced his way into a room in the Mitre where four troopers were at their wine. They

made him sit down with them, join in their toast-drinking, and settle the bill; an Oxford original for the tavern-scene in Marryatt's "Snarleyow."

Two of the Oxford converts had at one time been connected with Lincoln. John Augustine Bernard, now Fellow of Brasenose, had entered Lincoln in 1676, and taken his B.A. thence in 1680. On his declaring himself, the king sent his *mandamus* to make him Professor of Moral Philosophy. In his inaugural lecture, May 6, 1687, before "a numerous auditory," he discoursed of the excesses of the Reformation. Matthew Tindall also, now of All Souls, had entered Lincoln College as commoner in 1673. He was noticed in January 1688 to be "a great frequenter of Obadiah Walker's club" and in February "held a candle in Dean Massey's chapel." He afterwards was famous as a Deistical writer.

CHANGE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF COLLEGE ESTATES.

James II.'s short reign is notable in the history of College finance as the date of a new system of dealing with the estates.

The practice was to let the estates on beneficial leases, for a large sum of money paid at the time of granting the lease, at a very small annual rent. The money paid down was known as a "fine," and was divided among the Fellows in the year in which it was received. Hence the ordinary value of a fellowship was small, but in the year when a "fine" was taken the Fellows of the year received a large dividend.

Hitherto the lease-system had involved another

uncertainty, since each lease had been granted for the duration of the life of the survivor of two or three persons named in it.

The new policy was to grant leases for a fixed term of years, so that the date when a fine would be set could be forecast. The rule which subsequently became general was to grant a lease for forty years. At the expiry of thirteen years, the lessee surrendered this lease, paid a fine, and had a new lease for forty years. By arranging at proper distances of time the dates of leasing the different estates, it was found possible to have fines falling due every third year or so, and the value of the fellowships was thus increased and more evenly distributed from year to year.

Fitzherbert Adams led the way in the change from leases for lives to leases for years in the case of the rectorial estate at Twyford in Bucks. In 1686, a lease to the Wenman family for three lives expired, and Adams granted a lease for twenty years only. By taking a smaller fine, he secured an increase of £30 on the annual rent under the lease, and "whereas the curate had formerly been at the disposal of the lessee from whom he had but a slender allowance," the new lease bound the lessee to allow the curate the parsonage-house and £50 a year.

With this example of the advantages of the new system to point to, Adams persuaded the College to introduce it into College leases.

In February 1687, the lease of the College Staffordshire estate was by-and-by expected to fall in, by the death of the last "life." Adams persuaded the College "to change the lease from lives (which are uncertain)

to years." The change meant a money loss to the existing Fellows, for a much smaller fine would be paid on a lease for forty years than on a lease for several lives. The lease expired in January 1690, and a lease for twenty-one years was then granted to "Paul Hood, grandson of Dr. Hood, formerly Rector."

REPAIR OF THE COLLEGE CHAPEL.

One other matter of interest belongs to this period. A slight exercise of imagination in College history will enable us to realise it.

An alarming crack had shown itself in the south wall of the chapel at the east end. It looked as though a large part of the wall would fall outwards. Examination of the foundation showed that the wall rested not on the natural gravel, but on made earth. All the central part of Oxford had been dug for gravel for old buildings (perhaps at this spot for the original All Saints' Church), and the pits afterwards filled up. It was therefore necessary to support the wall by buttresses. But the masons found that the job was a heavier one than they had bargained for. They dug and dug, but came not to the bottom of this particular pit. At last, when the College officer's back was turned, they pretended to have reached gravel, smoothed the rubbish they were digging in, laid their long clay pipes down in rows, put on them the foundation-stone of the new buttress, tenderly, so as not to break the pipes, and then built fast, and filled up as they built, lest the fraud should be found out. In 1886, when the buttress was taken up, the layer of pipes was found almost intact. The digging for the new but-

tress had to go about eight feet lower before the gravel was reached. The outward bulge of the chapel wall is very noticeable in the interior, as may be seen in our plate.

The cost of the work at the chapel was borne by the rector in 1686, and, with the interior decoration, cost him £470.

At the same time he spent £300 in "improving the rooms and buildings" of the College.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

Rectors (20th and 21st from the Foundation): Fitzherbert Adams, 1685-1719; John Morley, 1719-1731

THE College interest of this period centres round the great benefaction of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe.

THE REVOLUTION.

William and Mary were crowned April 11, 1689, the day being observed at Oxford by a special "Act" ceremony, in which one of the pieces recited was *Magdalena ridens*—i.e., that College triumphing in the flight of its oppressor.

The first Convocation in which the oaths of allegiance to the new sovereigns were tendered, was held in July 1689, and Fitzherbert Adams, rector of Lincoln, was forward in taking them. The majority of the Fellows concurred. One, at least, had scruples, Edward Hopkins, who is mentioned by Wood among the Oxford non-jurors. But he must have soon submitted, for we find him retaining his fellowship till 1716, when he retired, being unwilling to take the oaths to George I.

Of the non-juring body in the country, two eminent names are ex-Fellows of Lincoln, George Hickeys and John Kettlewell.

THE HALL.

In the years 1699–1700 the sum of £270 was laid out in wainscoting the Hall. To this Lord Crewe gave £100, and Nathaniel Lloyd ten guineas. And, I suppose, Daniel Hough's legacy of £50 was now used. The panelling was very handsome of its kind, but in the spirit of the age, in panels too large for the style of the Hall. The insufficiency of the means to execute the work is shown by many of the panels being of plain wood, so that to hide the discrepancy between them and the oak panels the whole had to be painted over. It was at this time that the mullions of the Hall windows were cut out and square sash-windows inserted, and the fireplace moved from the middle of the floor to the wall.

Another subscription in 1891 has undone the evil of the 1699 work, but wisely retained the panelling.

THE LIVINGS FUND.

The Fellows of the College were by statute all in Holy Orders. For most of them it seemed an idle and miserable life to stay on in College, beyond the time necessary for their degrees. They would far rather obtain a small benefice and go down to the country. But the College had no patronage, and the Fellows were therefore no better off than the multitude of men whom the circumstances of the age had compelled into the Church and to the search of a patron. Hence there arose a very strong wish that the College should acquire some advowsons for the promotion of its Fellows. The wish took a practical shape. By gift and legacy from the Fellows, by £5 and £50, a fund was created out of which the advow-

son of Great Leighs, Essex, was purchased in 1726 for £800 ; that of Winterborne, Dorset, in 1735 for £935 ; that of Waddington, Lincolnshire, in 1755, for £1200 ; and that of Cublington, Bucks, in 1766, for £1000. The increase in the amounts paid shows that other Colleges were purchasing, and spoiling the market.

Gifts and bequests to this fund begin about 1700, and for one hundred and fifty years hardly a Rector or Fellow but contributes. In 1713 Gervase Bradgate, Fellow 1699, bequeathed £50. John Calcott, Fellow 1815-1865, gave and bequeathed £400.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH.

Old All Saints' Church was a long, narrow building, with a high-pitched roof. Alongside the chancel on the south side was a second chancel or chantry-chapel as large as the chancel itself. On the north side of the chancel was also a small, unsightly chantry-chapel. At the west end stood a square tower with a high octagonal spire. On March 8, 1700, the spire fell eastwards, crushing in the roof of the Church.

The design for the new Church was supplied by the versatile Henry Aldrich, dean of Christ Church 1689-1711. A subscription, to which Lord Crewe, Lincoln College, the Rector and Fellows personally, and others, contributed handsomely, provided the funds. "Queen's letters" were obtained—*i.e.*, a brief sent to all parishes, asking them to make a collection for the object named ; but the day of these was over, and little was brought in. By 1708 the body of the Church was finished, the spire being completed in 1719, chiefly at the charge of Lord Crewe.

Although utterly at variance with church-building ideas of earlier and of later times, the new All Saints' is a fine building. The interior, with its stately pilasters, fine open windows, and grand spread of roof, is always graceful, and always full of light. The outline of the spire, rising in pillared elegance from the massive square tower, is deeply imprinted on the memory of all Lincoln men. Unfortunately, having been built of the most perishable of Oxford stone, the building has been a very costly one, the spire having had to be rebuilt, and the whole exterior refaced.

THE COLLEGE ROOMS.

The wainscoting of the Hall incited the Fellows to make their rooms cosy and handsome after the same sort.

In December 1703, it was ordered that any Fellow might spend £12 in "improving" his room, of which half would be repaid by the College when he left, and a quarter by his successor. This order is signed "J. Potter, Sub-rector."

John Potter entered University College as a servitor in 1688, and took B.A. there 1692. He was elected Fellow of Lincoln in 1694, and resigned in June 1706. He took D.D. in April 1706. He was chaplain to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was Regius Professor of Divinity, 1708, Bishop of Oxford 1715, and Archbishop of Canterbury 1737-1747. His "Antiquities of Greece," and his editions of "Lycomphron," &c., were thought great things in their day. As a leading and a prosperous Whig, he is being constantly snarled at by Thomas Hearne in his diaries.

To go back to the wainscoting—in 1705 John Morley spent £20 in wainscot in “the middle chamber at the west end of the chapel,”—*i.e.*, the bow-window chamber facing south, which looks so well from the Turl, and is shown in one of our plates. And in 1706, John Brereton, Fellow 1693–1735, laid out £22 in wainscoting the corresponding room at the east end of the chapel, and William Vesey laid out £10 on the present Wesley lecture-room.

LORD CREWE'S VISIT.

In 1716 Crewe, feeling the infirmities of age heavy upon him, withdrew to his paternal home at Stene, to wait death.

In 1717, on August 12, the anniversary of his election to the Rectorship (1668), he came to Oxford, and stayed there till August 31. His visit was chiefly to inform the College of his noble benefaction, £474 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, to augment the incomes of the Rector, Fellows, chaplains, scholars, and Bible-clerk, and to found twelve exhibitions of £20 each. These provisions of his will he had determined to execute in his lifetime, and on his return to Stene he drew up nomination papers for twelve exhibitioners, and sent them to the College on October 8. A second purpose was probably to see the new All Saints', to which he had already largely contributed. He now increased his donations by £100 for an altar-piece, and £200 for the spire.

The College made an entertainment for him in the Hall, where the dinner cost £6 15*s.* 6*d.*, and the wine £3 15*s.* To have everything in keeping with the new wainscoting, new table-cloths and napkins were pro-

vided at a cost of £2 4s. And, mindful of his lordship's tastes, the College paid £1 1s. 6d. to the "University music" to be present.

CONTESTED ELECTION OF 1719.

Fitzherbert Adams died in 1719, and was buried on June 30, in All Saints' Church. The proceedings in the election of a successor are obscure.

According to the common tradition, the College, willing to please their great benefactor, asked Crewe to name the man he would like to see made Rector. At last, on a second or third request, he named his chaplain, William Lupton, Fellow 1698-1726. The Fellows then, by nine votes to three, elected John Morley.

A more probable explanation is that Lupton had used his position as Crewe's chaplain, to get his lordship to express a wish to see him Rector, and the Fellows showed their resentment at this trafficking, even at the risk of giving mortal offence to their benefactor. The majority for Morley is too great to be explained otherwise.

Crewe was unmistakably offended, and great concern was felt among all friends of the University, lest the slight should sting him into discontinuing his gift. When the new Rector waited upon Crewe at Stene, the bishop received him "with great, very great, coldness." But the sore was soon healed. Crewe was too constant in his affection for his old College to brood long over it.

Crewe died September 18, 1722, and was buried at Stene.

THE WHELER BENEFACTION.

George Wheler, gentleman commoner in 1668, afterwards travelled in Greece, and was promoted by Lord Crewe in Durham Cathedral. He brought back a number of Greek and Latin MSS. which he deposited in the College library, and bequeathed to the College in his will (1725?). At the same time he gave "to the chapel and altar of Lincoln College" the chalice and paten which had been left him by the will of the Lady Joanna Thornhill. He left also a rent-charge of £10 to found a Wheeler Scholarship for a boy from Wye School. In 1759 Granville Wheler, son of the founder, augmented it. But the administration was vested in a small local trust, and both scholarship and augmentation soon disappeared.

CHAPTER XV

THE GOLDEN AGE

Rectors (22nd and 23rd from the Foundation): Euseby Isham, 1731-1755; Richard Hutchins, 1755-1781

THE fifty years from 1731 to 1781, under two excellent Rectors, seem to have been among the happiest in the annals of the College. The autobiography of John Wesley gives us a pleasing picture of harmony of spirit and studious habits. And this is borne out in the College register, by the utter absence of any note of strife, and in the stream of benefactions by which the love of its members to their College sought to express itself.

BENEFACTIONS.

A few of these may be noted. In 1749 the College received a legacy of £200 from William Watts, Fellow 1706-1721, afterwards, by Lord Crewe's patronage, beneficed in Durham. In 1755 Arthur Annesley, of Blechingdon, Fellow-commoner in 1751, gave an altar-cloth and cushions of rich velvet. In 1756 William Vesey bequeathed his books, and Roman and Old English coins, and £100. In 1772, and afterwards, Peter Davis, Fellow 1730-1736, gave and bequeathed £220 to fence the chapel windows with a wire lattice (which cost £106 9s.), and with the remainder to

buy ground contiguous to the College to enlarge its site.

THE LIBRARY.

In 1737 Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, a principal benefactor to All Souls and to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, had given the College £500, "out of his particular regard to this place of his education." In 1739 this sum was spent in fitting up the Library with its present handsome, but formal, shelving. The Rector had mistaken Lloyd's wishes, and the mistake roused Lloyd's wrath. In three wills: May 29, 1739, June 2, 1740, September and All Souls' Day, 1740, he inserts this clause: "Item, I gave to Lincoln College, Oxford, where I was a commoner, £500 in 1737, but it not being laid out as I directed, so no more from me." The shaky construction of the sentence reveals, perhaps, the hot indignation of the writer.

THE GROVE.

In December 1739, £364 16s. 8d. had been spent on "a building behind the College Hall, consisting of six chambers for the use of commoners." This was the old "Grove." In the year following, these rooms were fitted up, wainscoted chair-high, and hung above the wainscot with Kidderminster hangings. The rent was fixed at £5 a year. The cost of building, was no doubt, defrayed by legacies, such as those mentioned above.

These Grove buildings have many pleasant memories for old Lincoln men. Remote from the observation and the hearing of authority, they were the chosen spot for impromptu concerts, noisy debates, lively suppers, and other undergraduate rejoicings.

The new buildings, which displaced them in 1880



From a Photo by the

Plate VII

NEW BUILDINGS IN THE GROVE

[Oxford Camera Club



have a fine front to the south, but in the interior the ingenuity of the architect (Mr. T. Graham Jackson) has had hard work to provide a large number of sets of rooms on a small site. A view of the front is given in one of our plates.

SOCIAL CHANGES.

The present age saw a marked change in the social life of the College. The "servants" of the College were increased in number, and the position of the "servitors" improved.

The regulations which sanction the change bear date January 28, 1748, and may be thus epitomised :

(i.) The Bible-clerk with such servitors as he requires shall wait at the high table. If more service is needed, the porter is to help them. One servitor is to say grace before meat; the Bible-clerk, or a servitor for him, is to read the chapter and to say grace after meat. The "bed-makers," apparently three in number ("Horn and his servant, and S. Cox"), are to wait on the commoners' two tables in Hall, the senior, and the junior. The servitors are to "stand to commons at noon," *i.e.*, I suppose to take their dinner standing, and not seated. A table was assigned to the Bible-clerk, servitors, and scholars.

(ii.) The "scholars," being now exempted from serving in Hall, were to be "admitted to chapel, and obliged to read the lessons." (Perhaps, formerly, they had sat as servants in the ante-chapel.) They were to come after the commoners in every respect. It will be thus seen that in Lincoln the title "scholar," on the foundations of Traps and Marshall, was, for centuries, not a mark

of honour, but of indigence, being synonymous with "poor scholar."

(iii.) The Bible-clerk and the servitors were to have the calling up—*i.e.*, in the morning—of the gentleman-commoners and as many commoners as shall desire it. The tutors were to assign the men to the respective servitors. For this, a quarterly tip was, of course, paid. The "scholars" and servitors were required to perform the function of the modern bell and call the commoners to lecture on consideration of paying two guineas less tuition fees a year.

UNDERGRADUATE "EXERCISES."

In 1770, we have one of the very rare notices of what an undergraduate was expected to do in College in preparation for his degree.

The scheme is that for four weeks from the middle of November there are to be disputations on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, Greek lectures on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and declamations and themes on Saturdays. So, also, in every week of full term from Ash Wednesday to the middle of July. In other parts of the year, "as there are fewer resident," declamations are to be omitted, but the themes retained every Saturday in full term. There is to be one Greek lecture a week, and disputations are to be twice a week, unless there be less than four in a "class," and then only once. There were two "classes," one of men preparing for B.A., a second of men preparing for M.A.

The College was to pay the Fellows who undertook the duty three shillings for each time the Greek lecture was taken, and two shillings for each time either "class" was taken.

JOHN WESLEY.

It is to this period that John Wesley's active connection with the College belongs. He became a member of the College in 1726, and his tutorial work extended from 1729 to 1735. In the case of a man so famous, it may be permitted to sketch briefly not only his College life, but his previous life as well.

John Wesley was born 1703, in his father's, Samuel Wesley's, rectory of Epworth, then a very inaccessible parish, the remotest in the county and diocese of Lincoln. His family, during his boyhood, were in very straitened circumstances, his father having been involved in debt by the rebuilding of the rectory house, destroyed by fire in 1709. Wesley was taught his letters at home by his mother, and at eleven went to Charterhouse, where he remained for five years.

The glimpses we have of his school-life enable us better to understand the hardness of College life in this and the earlier period. The masters did little but teach; the boys governed themselves on the elementary principle that the weakest should go to the wall. The "commons" were none too liberal, and so the bigger and stronger boys provided for themselves by adding to their own portion the meat served out to the younger boys, leaving the latter only their bread. "From ten to fourteen," Wesley writes, "I had little but bread to eat, and not great plenty of that."

A lad of mettle, however, brought up in a poor country parsonage was not to be cowed by the absence of luxuries, or even by the presence of privation. Wesley not only passed through his school course,

making good progress in his studies, he even enjoyed his school days, and throughout his life was a proud Carthusian.

Charterhouse had several exhibitions of £40 a year at Christ Church, and when Wesley was just over sixteen he came up on one of these, being admitted at the House, June 24, and matriculating at the University, July 18, 1720. As was natural, having the spending of more money than he had ever had, Wesley took things a bit easily, his outlay came to be more than his means, and the society he cultivated proved too expensive for his purse and too frivolous for his tastes.

He took his B.A., April 27, 1724, and was ordained deacon in Christ Church Cathedral, September 19, 1725, by John Potter, Bishop of Oxford. In 1725, Wesley was very anxious to get a fellowship to set him free from money difficulties, and, if possible, elsewhere than at Christ Church, that, without insult to his old acquaintanceships, he might begin a stricter course of life.

It was at Lincoln College that he got his opportunity. A fellowship for natives of the County of Lincoln, held by Thomas Ashburne from 1712 till his death on April 7, 1724, had been filled up, June 23, 1724, by the election of John Thorold, gentleman commoner 1721, B.A. 1724. John Thorold was, however, heir to a baronetcy, and had neither wish nor legal capacity long to hold the fellowship which the College had been pleased to offer him as "*eximia spe juvenis, genere clarus, politiore literatura et suavissimis moribus clarior.*" He therefore resigned his fellowship May 3, 1725, and made the money profits of his year's tenure (£13 0s. 6d.)

a gift to the College. He afterwards (in 1772) gave £100 to increase the salary of the Bible-clerk.

Thorold's fellowship was kept vacant for more than ten months. When it was thrown open for competition on March 17, 1726, Wesley, qualified by birth and still more by attainments, was at once elected.

Wesley was admitted to his fellowship, March 28, and for a few weeks was busy in making the acquaintance of the members of his new College. His first impressions were most favourable, and subsequent experience so deepened them that he had always the warmest good opinion of Lincoln.

The rule of the fellowships was that for the first six months a newly elected Fellow received no emoluments. Wesley, therefore, like others similarly placed, went home in April 1726, and helped his father all summer in his parish work.

He came back to College punctually on September 28, to discharge next day the first College duty that had been assigned him, the annual sermon in St. Michael's Church on Michaelmas Day. He remained in residence till the end of the summer term of 1727; and then for two years he served as curate, for his father, in a fen-parish so cut off by morasses that it was locally known as "Wroote-out-of-England." The College had several times shown impatience that their brilliant young Fellow should cut himself off from tutorial work at Lincoln, and at last, in October 1729, John Morley, the Rector, with kindly firmness, told him he must come back.

He returned to College, November 22, 1729; and at once had eleven pupils assigned him. He also under-

took to serve a small cure a little way out of Oxford, and thus could keep his horse (he was a spare little man and fond of riding), without accusing himself of unnecessary expenditure. In 1730, he held in College the Moderatorship in Logic, *i.e.*, the superintendence of the College exercises of undergraduates for the B.A. From 1731 to 1734 he held the Moderatorship in Philosophy *i.e.*, the superintendence of the College exercises of B.A.s for M.A., and also the Greek lectureship.

When John returned to Oxford, he found that his brother Charles, Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and a few grave spirits had formed themselves into a society for mutual encouragement in exercises of piety. Their rules bound them to observe a fixed hour for daily prayer ; to receive Holy Communion weekly ; to meet once a week to read the New Testament ; to teach the neglected children of the city, and to visit the poor and especially the prisoners in the jails.

In 1735, after their father's death, the two brothers sailed for the American colonies, Charles to minister among the colonists, John to be a missionary to the Indians. Both failed ; Charles returned within a year ; John, hardier, struggled on till 1738.

In 1738, John Wesley was again resident in College, but afterwards he had leaves of absence consecutively from November 6, 1739, till November 6, 1750. His resignation, on his marriage, took effect June 1, 1751.

HUTCHINS SCHOLARSHIPS.

Founded by bequest of Richard Hutchins, Rector. The estate of Foresthill, near Oxford, was bought for this purpose, about 1808.

CHAPTER XVI

THE IRON AGE

Rectors (24th to 26th from the Foundation): Charles Mortimer, 1781-1784; John Horner, 1784-1792; Edward Tatham, 1792-1834.

IN the period 1781-1834, the College suffered a great declension from its position in the preceding age.

This is, no doubt, to be laid in a large measure to the account of Tatham, the Rector. A shrewd and vigorous man, he was also of that turbulent spirit which is always spoiling for a fight. When Fellow, he was at feud with the Rector; when Rector, he was at feud with the Fellows. The Visitor, George Prettyman Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln 1787-1820, was kept hard at work composing quarrels and settling disputed points of the statutes. The questions at issue were small to begin with, and have lost any interest they had, so that this long period is a barren one for Lincoln history.

Tatham's eccentricities, however, were a great source of public good humour, and a world of merry stories was invented and added to the more warrantable anecdotes about him. One may be told here. When Tatham went wooing, he proceeded straight to business with his intended father-in-law: "What dowry will you give with your daughter?" A sum was named, in

pounds: and Tatham clinched the bargain, saying, "Make it guineas, and I'm your man."

I have heard also that the College suffered much from its tutors. Two, who were contemporaries, George Stanley Faber, Fellow 1793-1804, and Thomas Fry, Fellow 1796-1803, had some reputation for scholarship; but, for various reasons, were disliked in College. The former was Bampton Lecturer, 1801, and moved George Valentine Cox, who, as Esquire-bedell, had to be present, to complain in his racy *Recollections of Oxford*, that "they had at least the two usual features of the Bampton lectures, length and dryness." The latter was tutor of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

Of another, Charles Rose, Fellow 1812-1836, it is noted that he was tutor for twenty-two years, but was so haughty, even to natives of his own county of Northampton, that old members of the College took deadly offence and sent their sons as commoners to other Colleges.

These general remarks exhaust what has to be said about the period. But some incidental notes may be added, as of interest when taken in connection with similar notes earlier and later.

THE CHAPEL.

In 1797, it was at last seen that the old arrangement, by which the Fellows of the College took turns, daily or weekly, in being responsible for the services, was (under existing circumstances) too cumbrous. The College, therefore, decided to appoint a Chaplain to "the ordinary duty of the Chapel," to begin January 1, 1797.

This Chaplaincy (or Chaplaincies, for the office was occasionally divided) has been sometimes filled by Fellows; sometimes it has brought into the College members of other societies whom we have been proud to have on our lists.

In 1804, evening prayer was at six. In 1821, evening prayer was at six in winter, and seven in summer.

THE COLLEGE FRONT.

In 1824 the College was refaced. The work cost at least £850, the Rector and twenty-five members, past and present, contributing that sum. It was a most generous subscription, and the work was no doubt necessary, Lincoln not having the good fortune to be built of a weatherly streak of Oxford stone. But it proved an irreparable disaster that it was carried out at that time. Lincoln had been a monastic building; the craze of the day was a baronial or castellated style, with sham battlements and embrasures. The whole character of our buildings was thus changed, and their ancient features utterly destroyed.

THE COMMON-ROOM.

In February 1815, the Common-Room was re-furnished with "mahogany elbow chairs," those now in use. In May it was ordered to be "fitted up in a modern manner." Part of this fitting-up was a Turkey carpet of most beautiful pattern, which still serves as an under-carpet. Tatham, the Rector, undertook to purchase the carpet in London. On his return, his statement of accounts showed that there was a balance over of one penny. One of the Fellows, hoping to

draw the Rector, asked, with much concern, what had been done with it. "That penny, sir," Tatham replied, with great dignity, "I gave to a crossing-sweeper." The retort was obvious. The Fellow was "so pleased that the Rector had done one act of charity in his life."

THE HALL.

Somewhere about this time also, the College was so luxurious as to procure a Turkey carpet for the dais in the Hall. This gave rise to a staple jest of old Oxford guides that "the Fellows of Lincoln dine off Turkey every day."

In 1804, the dinner hour was changed from three o'clock to four. In 1821, it was fixed for four in the winter and spring terms, and five in the summer terms.

EXAMINATIONS.

We come in this age on evidence that "the Examination system" had become an established institution. In 1819 the College ordered that if "an Exhibitioner or Scholar be rejected at the Public Examination" his exhibition or scholarship shall be "forfeited forthwith;" and that no undergraduate is to put off "Responsions" beyond his ninth term "under pain of having his name immediately removed from the College books." In 1828, "for the improvement of College discipline, as well as to ascertain the progress of the undergraduates in literature, COLLECTIONS" were ordered to be held at the end of each term.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE.

Out of this iron age, it is a pleasant task to pick

some of the College "golden lads," not elsewhere mentioned in this history.

Harry Bristow Wilson, commoner in 1793, Second Master of Merchant Taylors School, of which he wrote a history.

Edward William Stillingfleet, commoner 1800, Fellow 1812-1823, founded in 1867 two annual prizes to encourage the better reading of the lessons in the College chapel. The first name on the list of "Reading Prizemen" is William Bottomley Duggan, Exhibitioner 1864.

Joseph Addison, Crewe Exhibitioner 1807, Q.C., "inefficient in court, but a very eminent chamber-counsel; half the judges of the time read with him."

Charles Neate, commoner 1824, the brilliant Fellow of Oriel, Professor of Political Economy, M.P. for Oxford.

William Jacobson, Scholar 1825, Fellow of Exeter; Vice-principal of Magdalen Hall, Vicar of Ifley, Public Orator, Regius Professor of Divinity, Bishop of Chester; and in all beloved and honoured.

John Armstrong, Crewe Exhibitioner 1833, Bishop of Grahamstown 1853. His portrait is in Hertford College Hall.

William George Ward, commoner April 30, 1834, Fellow of Balliol, "Tractarian," dis-graded "for heresy," D.D. by Pius IX., editor of the *Dublin Review*.

TATHAM SCHOLARSHIP.

In 1847, Elizabeth Tatham, widow of the Rector, founded a scholarship, with preference to persons born or educated in Buckinghamshire.

CHAPTER XVII

MODERN TIMES

Rectors (27th to 30th from the Foundation) : John Radford, 1834-1851 ; James Thompson, 1851-1860 ; Mark Pattison, 1861-1884 ; William Walter Merry.

RECTORSHIP OF JOHN RADFORD.

ON TATHAM'S death, John Radford was elected Rector without a contest.

His Rectorship was uneventful. He bequeathed £300 to put battlements about the interior of the quadrangle, and £300 to the Livings Fund. The residue of his estate he directed to be employed in founding a Scholarship.

Radford was a most amiable man, who had an intense pride in his College, and loved to dwell on its historic greatness. I have heard old members describe, how, in his favourite attitude, the hand laid on his heart "as the Doctors of Divinity use when they take their oaths," a characteristic happily retained in his portrait in the Hall, Radford would sweep away more modern, if larger foundations, to leave Lincoln standing in solitary state. "Gentlemen, what must Lincoln have been, when Brasenose was not, when Magdalen was not, when All Souls was not."

As a governor, he was disposed to err on the side of

excessive leniency. On one occasion, when the College had had to deal, in Radford's absence, with a grave breach of discipline, the undergraduates on his return drew up a round-robin, asking the case to be reconsidered. Radford called a College meeting, and opened it with tears. "See to what pass you have brought me by your severity, gentlemen, that I should have to be taught the first principles of justice by my own undergraduates."

THE CONTEST IN 1851.

On Radford's death there was no one who commanded all votes. The result was a contest which was fought out with great bitterness, had surprising developments, and excited much wonder outside the College walls.

Had academical reputation been the only thing to consider, the choice of the College must necessarily have fallen on Mark Pattison (Fellow 1839). But there were several obstacles to his success. Pattison had a sharp tongue, and had given deadly offence to some of his colleagues. Others questioned his theological position. He had been John Henry Newman's curate at Littlemore, and there was an old story that only the failure of a cabman to keep an appointment had prevented his reception into the Church of Rome at the little church in St. Clement's, that "narrow entrance," in a phrase attributed to the late Master of Balliol, "through which so many distinguished sons of Oxford have been admitted into the Universal Church." A third, and serious, objection was that Pattison had his moods, which made it doubtful if he would prove a good Rector.

Knowing this, Richard Michell, Fellow 1830-1841,

famous in old days as the wonderfully successful Lincoln "coach," now Vice-principal of Magdalen Hall, was active in canvassing for himself. But there was an insuperable barrier to his candidature. The statutes forbade the Somersetshire Fellow being chosen Rector. And, although Michell himself contended stoutly that the prohibition did not extend to an ex-Somersetshire-Fellow, the doubt was sufficient to prevent Pattison's opponents selecting Michell as their candidate. Among the ex-Fellows, two others were possible candidates.

James Thompson, who had recently accepted the College living of Cublington, was of no academical reputation, probably as much from the fault of the College as his own. Educated at Louth Grammar School, of which, if I remember rightly, his father was master, he matriculated at Lincoln in 1820, and was elected Scholar in 1822. The tuition in Lincoln, as in some other Colleges, was then poor indeed. The undergraduates assembled in lecture-room, construed some lines of Virgil or some verses of the Greek Testament, and that was all. One revenge, however, they had. The eccentricities of their lecturers provided the men of that generation with a fund of anecdotes which have proved the delight and wonder of their successors. The merits of the tuition were not tested by the class-list, for Thompson took a pass degree.

Thompson, by right of his Yorkshire birth, had a blunt manner both of thinking and speaking. On one occasion, this did the College great wrong. In 1837, there were two vacant Lincoln County fellowships. One of the five candidates was James Bowling Mozley, B.A. of Oriel College, Newman's curate. This was too

suggestive of Rome for Thompson, whose influence secured the return of others. Radford (the Rector), Richard Michell, J. L. R. Kettle, and Miles Atkinson voted for Mozley, but Thompson's dictum, "we cannot have a Newmanite" was decisive the other way. Mozley's subsequent course, Fellow of Magdalen, Bampton Lecturer, Regius Professor of Divinity, not only furnishes an apt instance for a Horatian theme, "*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ*," but causes a regret in the College of Sanderson to have lost the honour of so profound a theologian from our roll of Fellows. At other times, Thompson's gruffness, cloaking great kindness, attached men strongly to him.

As Sub-rector, Thompson had shown himself a good disciplinarian, and there was no man whose opinion in the complicated affairs of the College estates commanded more respect. This last qualification was likely to be especially valuable, when the long-expected University Commission began its sittings.

The candidate finally pitched upon by the anti-Pattison party was William Kay. William Kay entered Magdalen College in 1816, took M.A. in 1823, was elected Fellow of Lincoln Nov. 8, 1823, but had resigned his place in 1840. In 1820, he had been a first class-man in mathematics, and it was during his tutorship that Lincoln gained the earliest of her scanty honours in that school. He has to be distinguished from a relative of the same names, scholar of the College in his time, who succeeded him in his fellowship, and was afterwards Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and a Hebraist of repute. The distinction was effected at the time, in the common-room, by using the terms Old

Kay and Young Kay; in the undergraduate world, by using Majorca and Minorca, the last syllable of the island names being sounded to suit the name Kay.

The election was fixed for November 13. The evening before, all things showed that to-morrow's voting would be between Kay and Pattison, and that Kay would have a small majority of the nine votes. There were, however, some of Pattison's party who smarted sorely under this result. Had Pattison been made Rector, the then great prize the College could give, the Rectory of Great Leighs, to which Clarke Jenkins had gone so far back as 1829, would have come to one of his juniors. At the last moment, therefore, they resolved that, since they could not carry their own man, neither should the other party theirs. They made overtures to some of Kay's voters who were under a prior pledge to vote for Thompson, and, as a result, the voting was between Kay and Thompson, and Thompson was declared elected.

In the actual election, a new cause of strife came up. Kay's chief supporter, J. L. R. Kettle, declared that Pattison had forfeited his fellowship, and that therefore his vote recorded for Thompson was invalid. The grounds of this contention were technical, connected with the taking of the B.D. degree under the old statutes. The Visitor, on appeal, allowed Pattison's vote and confirmed the election, April 8, 1852.

RECTORSHIP OF JAMES THOMPSON.

The great event of Thompson's Rectorship was the University Commission of 1854. The statutes drawn up for Lincoln College received the sanction of the

Queen in Council, June 24, 1856. The principal changes were two. The number of fellowships was reduced, and out of the income of the suspended fellowships scholarships were founded. The limitations of county and diocese on the fellowships, and on the Crewe exhibitions, were all removed. Perhaps this second change was too sweeping. The loss of the old local connection with Leicester, Northampton, and Durham, is one to be regretted by the College. And if the supporters of the new system can point with complacency to the first open fellowship elections, Francis St. John Thackeray of Merton, and William Walter Merry, of Balliol, as scholars whose books will occupy a large space in the *Athenæ Lincolnienses*, when that work comes forth, the champions of the old local ties need not be ashamed of the last close elections, Thomas Fowler of Merton, now President of Corpus, and John Hodgson Iles of Lincoln, afterwards Archdeacon of Stafford. The Open Scholars of the College also must be on their mettle if they are to mate the old close Crewe Exhibitioners, Thomas Henry Tristram, Chancellor of London, Robert Edward Sanderson, Headmaster of Lancing, Sir Lewis William Cave, Judge of the Queen's Bench, Charles John Abbey, the historian.

A domestic dispute, just after Thompson's election, deserves mention as throwing some light on the subsequent contest for the Rectorship. On June 9, 1852, a College meeting was held, in which by a majority, Pattison being one of that majority, it was decided that Kettle had forfeited his fellowship by not taking Orders. The Visitor, on appeal, reversed the decision, pronouncing (June 10, 1854) the Visitor's Ordinance of

1824 to be still in force, and this one fellowship to be a lay fellowship.

In 1856, the Rev. Henry Usher Matthews founded an exhibition in Shrewsbury School for a boy to come to Lincoln College, but this proviso was soon afterwards annulled by the Public Schools Commission. The residue of his estate, £2322, he bequeathed directly to the College, "for the foundation of an open Scholarship, tenable for three years."

Almost from his return to the College, Thompson's bodily powers had been broken, and his spirit crushed, by a painful, incurable disease, to which he succumbed, December 26, 1860.

Having given sayings of other Rectors, to whom tradition goes back, I would like to record one for Thompson. The following is trifling, but characteristic. It was often necessary for an intending undergraduate to come up and matriculate, and then to go down for a term or so till a set of rooms was vacant. On one occasion a very pert and very "fresh" member of this class had a thousand questions to ask Thompson about what should be done in the interval. "And what, in your opinion, sir, ought I specially to read?" "Read," the Rector's deep voice replied, "Read 'Verdant Green'."

THE CONTEST OF 1861.

On Thompson's death, Pattison was still far from certain of the succession. Kettle, the leader of the opposition to him in 1851, was still more sure to oppose him now.

The younger Fellows, those actively engaged in the educational work of the College, were, to a man, anxious

to elect the senior of their own number, under whose care the College would come to rank high as a place of study. But there was a wide gap of ten years and more between the two halves of the Fellows' list, and the seniors would not vote for a man much junior to themselves.

The new Statutes allowed the College wider freedom of choice of a Head than ever before, and overtures, I have been assured, were made to Benjamin Jowett of Balliol to be put in nomination. But, to the gain of his own College, he refused.

The voting, finally, was between Pattison and Richard Michell, now undoubtedly eligible by statute as formerly by reputation. Both Pattison and Michell canvassed hard for the place. I believe the issue was all along uncertain, but at last Pattison was elected, January 25, 1861. Michell was afterwards Principal of Magdalen Hall, 1868, and so Principal of the great new foundation of Hertford College, 1874. He was also Public Orator, 1848-1877, and his speeches in that office, published under the title of "*Orationes Crewianæ*," are most interesting. His occasional unpremeditated rejoinders to interruptions were famous in their day, and men still talk about the world of scorn he condensed into two words of reply to a silly question from the gallery, "*Ineptissime puer!*"

RECTORSHIP OF MARK PATTISON.

The result, as shown in Pattison's Rectorship, justified both parties.

The College at once reaped a reward in having for its Head a man who held a foremost place as a student and

a critic. Wherever letters were held in honour, the title "Rector of Lincoln" was in esteem. One need only turn to the magazines of the year in which he died, to find how greatly Pattison's books had impressed contemporary men of letters with his deep learning and his critical sagacity.

On the other hand, much that might have been done for the good of the College was hindered and thwarted.

Pattison's idea of the College was to get rid of the undergraduates and undergraduate tuition, and to have in their place a few genuine students whose lives should be given up to research. For myself I may say frankly that I think such a scheme would soon prove fatal both to the College and to itself. For most men, and for the greater part of their lives, there will be no research without teaching. The drudgery of the classroom is to the student what the weights are to the clock. Release him from the drag of lectures and papers, and Bodley will not long call him so imperiously to dig in his mines. If I may borrow a northern example, I question whether the great physicist of our age, Lord Kelvin, would have done so much in science but for the drudgery of the Natural Philosophy Class in his University of Glasgow.

But still, such was Pattison's ideal, and his perverse way of bringing it to pass was to discourage other energies. He had invented a Cardinal Morton's fork for the benefit of the tutors, which he publicly applied. It was the custom, a relic of the old formal "deductio Rectoris," for the Fellows, two and two, to follow the Rector and Sub-rector from the Chapel to his own

door. On the morning after the class-list appeared, if by chance there was no Lincoln first, he would turn round as he crossed the quadrangle, and joyously exclaim: "What's the College coming to? Another class-list, and no first from Lincoln!" But if there was a Lincoln name in the position of honour, he applied the other prong: "What's the University coming to? Why, there's so-and-so has got a first!"

Nor did undergraduates escape trouncing for doing well in the schools. I have heard, and credit, a tale of one scholar of the College who had done himself and the College honour in the class-lists and won laurels on the river. When, at the end of his years of residence, he called to say good-bye, the Rector asked his name, paused over it, and said: "Oh yes, Mr. —, I suppose you've come to matriculate."

These, of course, were "humours," and occasional ones. Dons and undergraduates, pupils and colleagues, will recall, on the other side, many charming interviews; in which the Rector unbent, entered into conversation with trenchant criticism, unlocked the vast storehouse of his erudition, and displayed the liveliest interest in their studies.

Most undergraduates, however, regarded Pattison with terror and aversion, for which no blame attaches to him. He was the victim, not the cause. No sooner had the freshman set up in College than he was "stuffed with stories" about the Rector's misanthropy, both old traditions of his tutorial days and recent inventions of his Headship. Nobody, it was said, was ever such a hater of the trivial and the commonplace, and, if you blundered into these in your talk, his wrath

was terrible. Pattison tried hard to keep up the College tradition of knowing and being friends with all Lincoln men, by the kindly old method of asking men to join him in his afternoon walk. When the invitation came, the freshman's trepidation, thus prepared for it, can be imagined. The walk took place, of course, but often in grim silence, the man afraid to speak, and the Don thinking his own thoughts.

Two of the stories alluded to above may be set down as specimens.

An old Lincoln parson was reputed to have told as follows :

"Coming to Oxford on some business, I took the opportunity of looking up Pattison in the evening. He received me very cheerfully, offered me a cigar, and lit one for himself. He was standing on the hearthrug, with his back to the grate, chatting away, when there came a timid knock to the door, and an undergraduate entered, with a sheet of paper in his hand, theme or composition of some sort. Pattison beckoned the man to come forward, took the sheet and looked over it, puffing slowly at his cigar. Then he crumpled the paper up in his hand, threw it in the man's face, and pointed to the door. The interview between pupil and tutor was over in a few seconds, without a word said on either side."

The composition may have deserved the utmost contempt, but most tutors have kindlier ways of indicating scorn.

The other story describes one of the dreaded "walks with the Rector." A timid undergraduate waited at the Lodgings at the appointed hour, followed the Rector across the quadrangle, and then, when the two had

stepped out through the wicket, essayed a literary opening to the conversation, by volunteering "The irony of Sophocles is greater than the irony of Euripides." Pattison seemed lost in thought over the statement, and made no answer till the two turned at Iffley to come back. Then he said, "Quote." Quotations not being forthcoming, the return and the parting took place in silence.

In 1863, Edward William Grinfield, M.A. 1808, founder of the Septuagint Lectureship in the University, sent his Septuagint books to the library, adding to the intimation of the gift to the Rector, "that you and your successors may continue to ornament my esteemed College is the earnest wish and prayer of E. W. Grinfield."

In 1877 a new Parliamentary Commission sat. The statutes prepared for Lincoln College were ultimately rejected in the House of Lords, after debate, on the motion of the Visitor, Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln. A few subsequent changes have brought the College on all essential points into line with others; and no one could guess, from appearances, that, as a code, the Lincoln statutes are older than those of any other College, the one piece of work of the strong Commission of 1854 which remains to this day.

In 1877 and 1878 there were some negotiations for the extinction of Lincoln by merging it in Brasenose. But of this proposal it will be enough to use the words of the great Fabius (*Liv.* xxiii. 22):

"Si quid unquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id omnium maxime tegendum occulendum obliviscendum pro indicto habendum esse."

So far we have carried this short history. It shows us, in later as in earlier times, jealousies and rivalries, contested elections, appeals to the Visitor, changes of statutes. But these, by the necessity of recording them in the College Register, occupy a space in our annals out of all proportion to their true place in the life of the College. On the other hand, the register is utterly silent about the work of the College as a place of education. Some conception, however, of what the College has done, and is doing, may be had by running over the list of recent Lincoln names, and marking the place they occupy in Church and State, in Law and Letters, in University and School, in the mother-countries, in the colonies, in India, and even beyond the limits of the empire.

CHAPTER XVIII

MISCELLANEA

ATHLETICS.

LINCOLN has been always a small College, and in modern times has seldom had sixty undergraduates in actual residence. It has also been consistently a reading College, in which many give themselves wholly to study. A simple arithmetical computation will therefore make it appear that to furnish the crews and teams necessary for inter-College contests is an impossibility. There are the Eight and the Torpid, the Rugby and Association teams, the cricket eleven, to say nothing of the University Volunteers, the gymnasium, the running-ground, lawn-tennis, golf, all of which have their demands on men's time and energy.

Yet College patriotism has achieved the impossible, and Lincoln has taken its share in all, sometimes gaining honour in the contests, at other times accepting defeat after a hard struggle.

In the pre-historic times when the eights were all penned in Iffley Lock, and the race began by their getting out as best they could, Lincoln is said to have once been Head of the River—a pleasing myth which shall not be contradicted by me. In actual history the highest place taken by the Lincoln boat was in 1869,

when the eight advanced from fifth to fourth place. 1875 was also a distinguished year, the eight going up from seventh to fifth, and the torpid from eleventh to ninth.

Of cricket scores we may bring back to memory the 235 made by a Lincoln eleven against Pembroke in 1875, 327 against Jesus College in 1882, and 220 against Worcester in 1883. Of heavy scores made against Lincoln bowling, there shall be silence :

No Lincoln hand shall touch the string,
The triumphs of our foes to tell.

Lincoln has sent some notable blues to do battle with Cambridge.

Alfred Cooke Yarborough (commoner 1866) rowed in the Oxford eight in 1868 and 1869, and was two in the Oxford four which beat Harvard in the famous race of 1869. John Arthur Ornsby (commoner 1869) rowed bow in the 1872 boat, and seven in 1873 ; he also won the broad jump in the Sports of 1870. James Williams (Scholar 1869, now Fellow and Bursar) was five in the 1874 boat ; he was in the first class in Classical Mods in 1871, and in Classical Greats in 1873. Percy Wolryche Taylor (Scholar 1881) rowed in the eight in 1884 and 1885, and was in the first class in Classical Mods in 1882.

To the Varsity eleven Lincoln has given two notable bowlers. Stirling Cookesley Voules (Scholar 1862) in 1863 took seven wickets in the second innings of Cambridge. The innings yielded only sixty-one, and Oxford won by eight wickets. Hugh Owen Whitby (commoner 1883) played in the elevens of 1884-1887, but

was more successful against the counties and the Australians than against Cambridge. In the Australian match of 1886 he took four wickets in the first innings in twenty-three overs, and in the second innings five wickets in twenty overs.

Alfred Sidgwick (commoner 1869) was in the Rugby Fifteen in 1874 ; G. F. H. Cookson (Exhibitioner 1890) played in the Rugby team against Cambridge in 1891 and 1892, and F. A. Leslie-Jones (Exhibitioners 1894) in 1894, 1895, and 1896 (in which year he was Captain).

Thomas Christie (Scholar 1869 ; in the first class in Classical Mods 1870) won the mile in the inter-University sports of 1871, and again in 1872. In the year 1874, Lincoln had three blues in the team, E. R. Nash (100 yards), C. A. Bayley (hurdles), J. D. Todd (throwing the hammer).

William Edward Gabbett was medallist at the gymnasium. He was scholar in 1874, took a first class in Classical Mods in 1875 and in Classical Greats in 1878. He was afterwards Classical Lecturer and Tutor at Durham, and was killed on the Dent Blanche, Zermatt, August 12, 1882. A brass in the outer Chapel, and a portrait in the Junior Common-Room, commemorate in College, this brilliant scholar and most genial of companions, who had been, for the five years of his residence, the life of College society and College athletics.

THE LIBRARY.

A peep into the Library gives a remarkable bird's-eye view of four centuries of Oxford studies. Having never possessed any separate endowment, it has grown not by yearly purchases, but by larger gifts of books, at long

intervals, from old members. It is thus an aggregation of many libraries, each having a peculiar character from the tastes or the period of its original owner.

Ponderous volumes, every one containing several thousands of pages, of treatises on cases of conscience, Aquinas in many tomes, and the like, are survivals from pre-Reformation times. Volumes of patristic literature hardly less bulky, and scripture commentaries in many folios, speak of the age of Elizabeth. Thomas Marshall's Hebrew books, and folios of civil and ecclesiastical history, tell the linguistic and annalist tastes of the seventeenth century. Some medical and scientific books bear witness to the influence of Radcliffe in the eighteenth century. And so we come to the more modern volumes of classical learning and historical research.

Three great miscellaneous collections, rich in material for the historian and bibliographer, await description and fuller cataloguing: Thomas Marshall's collection of pamphlets about the civil and ecclesiastical controversies of the early Stuart times; a large collection of eighteenth-century plays; and a similar collection of sermons on several occasions. Another interesting set of books reminds us of the political and literary discussions of the Common-Room, a series namely of *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *London Magazine*, and other periodical literature.

The MSS., for convenience of students, have been placed in the Bodleian. Two may be mentioned. Thomas Gascoigne's "*Liber de Veritatibus*," a sort of commonplace book of scripture topics, with interesting notes about his own times, *e.g.*, the death-bed repentance of Geoffrey Chaucer. This was acquired in James I.'s time. There is also an important MS., of

the beginning of the fifteenth century, of the English translation of the Bible attributed to John Wycliffe. It need hardly be said that this also was not an early possession of the Library.

Two undergraduate libraries, the older one, of classical and philosophical books, the one recently formed, of books of history and law, bear testimony to the influence of the Schools in differentiating studies.

THE COLLEGE ARMS.

Lincoln is fortunate in having such documentary evidence for its coat of arms, as gives strong presumption of the time when they were first assumed.

In October 1574 there was a heraldic Visitation of the Colleges, conducted by Richard Lee, Portcullis Pursuivant, as marshall to the Clarencieux King of Arms, Robert Cooke (1567-1592). Lee in 1584 became Richmond Herald, and in 1594 Clarencieux. The authority of the Visitation is beyond question, since it was alleged in August 1634 by the Heralds as a precedent for visiting "in the University concerning matters of heraldry and arms." Lee has left a record of this Visitation, both in certificates deposited in the Colleges and in a register deposited in the College of Arms.

He gives the present tripartite shield. In the central pale, on a field or, the arms of the see of Lincoln (viz., gules, two lions passant gardant or, on a chief azure Our Lady sitting with her Babe, crowned and sceptred or) ensigned with a mitre. On the dexter pale, the arms of Richard Fleming, barry of six argent and azure, in chief 3 lozenges gules, on the third bar a

mullet sable. On the sinister pale, the arms of Thomas Rotheram, vert, three stags trippant or. He then adds :

“These be the auncient armes belonging and apperteyning to Lincoln College, first founded by Richard Flemynge busshoppe of Lincoln and secondly by Thomas Rotheram likewise bushoppe of Lincoln by the name of Rector or Custos and Scholers of Lincoln College within the Universitie of Oxford, Which armes I Portculleis do ratifie confirme and record in this my visitacion made of the said Universitie, anno 1574, at which time was John Tatame, Mr of Arte, Rector of the same howse. In witnes wherof I, the said Portculleis, have hereunto sett my hand the xxiith daye of October in the yere of Our Lord above written

LEE, alias PORT CULLEIS,
Marshall to Clarendieux.”

The intention of the shield is obvious. It declares the “Lincoln diocese” College (“Collegium Lincolniense”) founded by Fleming, refounded by Rotheram.

What is the date of the shield? No one who considers the very troubled history and the extreme humility of the College during its first period will expect its members to have taken any trouble about a coat of arms. They would be content with one token of their corporate existence, the “commune sigillum.” Again, the tediously wordy documents of the second founder, Rotheram, are absolutely silent about a coat of arms, and hence there is a presumption that no such thing then existed, or was then introduced. Further, if we trace the history of the College downwards from that time we shall find nowhere either motive or oppor-

tunity for this particular vanity till we come to the Visitation itself. The object of the heralds on such visitations was chiefly to collect fees, and Tatham, as a court nominee, was not in a position to refuse them.

The probabilities, therefore, are that, in 1574, Lee, Portcullis, devised its complicated coat of arms for Lincoln. If he went carefully into the matter, he would find an authentic copy of the Fleming coat on the College seal; for Rotheram, he had the coat in stone on Rotheram's buildings, glass in the Hall window, and possibly College tradition.

The artistic elaboration of the Lincoln shield has exposed it to a vast number of corruptions, laziness joining with ignorance to hinder correctness. Three of the chief errors may be pointed out. In the Fleming shield, instead of six bars white and blue, the coat is commonly given as "argent, three bars azure." In the Lincoln see shield instead of St. Mary of Lincoln, there is often a demi-Lady from the arms of the see of Oxford. In the Rotheram coat, the Jesus College "stags argent attired or" appear. The latter has, indeed, been claimed as the true coat for Rotheram, but (1) the evidence adduced for that will not stand ordinary logical tests, (2) even if it were so, there is proof that that blazoning was not adopted in the official shield.

The College crest is, appropriately, the Mitre. The College colours are dark and light blue.

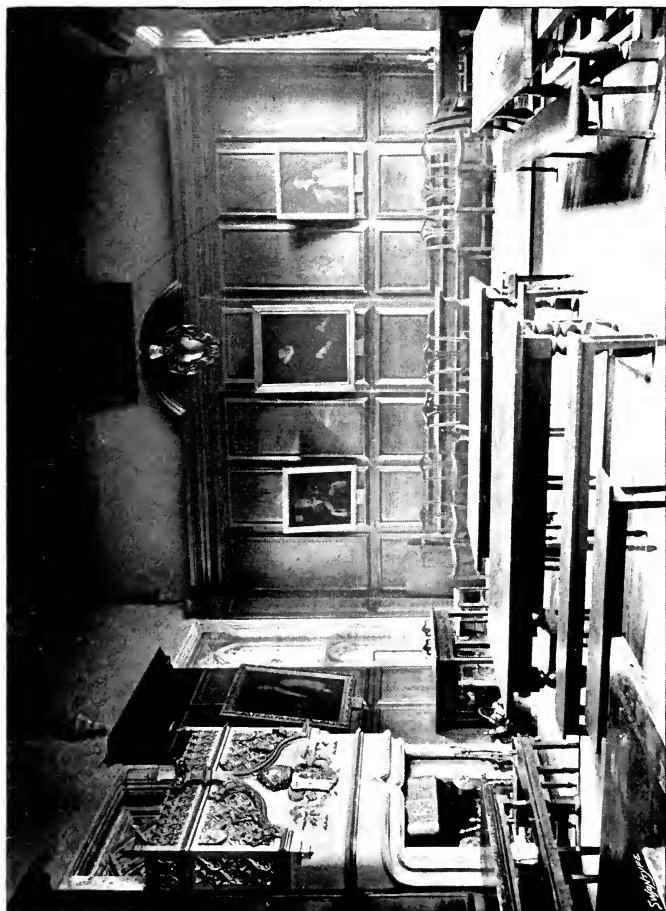
SOME COLLEGE ANTIQUITIES AND CUSTOMS.

The Common Seal.—Of all the silver ornaments, &c., given to the College from 1429 to 1659, two only have

come down to the present age. One is the common seal, in a plain ivory box with a fastening of silver wire. It is a round die with tabernacle work ; at the bottom is an escutcheon with Fleming's arms. From probably the same date, certainly from a remote period in the history of the College, has come a smaller seal, once belonging to the Bursar's office, and now used for letters testimonial. This is an oval die, with a bishop, crosier in hand, in act of benediction ; under him, "*S. hugo.*" Round the whole, "*Sigillum Collegii Lyncolne in Oxonia ad causas.*"

The Sub-rector's Whip.—It was the intention of the Founders that the Sub-rector should be also "corrector," and inflict corporal punishment on such of his brother Fellows as had deserved it. The emblem of his office is a scourge of four tails, which he receives on the morning of his admission and retains during his year of office. It is a stoutly-plaited, efficient implement, of strong whip-cord, and could draw blood at every stroke. The present whip is of no great antiquity, but is plainly a faithful copy of an older one.

The Devil.—There was over the gateway a leaden grotesque, like that at Lincoln Cathedral, which continued till about 1740. John Pointer notices its absence in his guide-book to Oxford in 1749, and his local patriotism half ventures to claim for this figure the origin of the English proverb, "As sure as the devil looks over Lincoln." He says: "The image of the Devil that stood many years on the top of this College (or else that over Lincoln Cathedral) gave occasion for that proverb, to look on one as the Devil looks over Lincoln." Prompted by a wonderful touch of anti-



From a Photo by the

INTERIOR OF HALL

[Oxford Camera Club

Plate VIII



quarian feeling, the boat-club, a few years back, procured a copy of the Lincoln grotesque to sit as patron on the bow of the eight.

Ground-Ivy Ale.—On Ascension day the parishioners of St. Michael's, and till recently, the parishioners of All Saints', beat their bounds. To enable this to be done, since the line of the boundary passes in at Brasenose gate and out at Lincoln gate, a dark obscure passage left for the purpose, through Brasenose buildings into Lincoln, is opened for that morning. By old custom, a lunch is provided for the parishioners who have attended the Vestry. Formerly, St. Michael's lunch was set in the buttery, as being in that parish; All Saints' in the Hall, as in their own ground. For this lunch, a tankard of ground-ivy ale is prepared—*i.e.*, of ale in which ground-ivy has been steeped overnight. If the manciple has been too generous in his allowance of the herb, the flavour is too marked for modern taste. The origin of this "cup" I have never seen explained. I have heard a religious origin conjectured for it, that it was emblematic of the "wine mingled with gall."

The Bell-almanac.—A custom worth noting is the ringing of the bell for the Chapel services. The bell is rung steadily for a few minutes, changing at the end of the time to shorter, sharper strokes (irreverently termed "swearing"). Then for one minute there is silence, and then the second bell strikes the number of days of the month. All old Lincoln men will remember that towards the end of the month, it was quite easy to be in place in Chapel by leaving one's room at the beginning of the second bell, but that the single toll for the

first day of the new month, took most by surprise and made thin Chapels. The purpose of this custom may have been, in the days before desk almanacs, to let the chaplain know the day of the month for reading the Psalms. Of its origin, it can only be said that as no living memory can recall when it was not so, no record tells when it came in. Sir John Peshall notes a similar custom at Carfax Church, in 1773. Curfew, he says, is rung constantly at eight: "it is a custom after the ringing and tolling this bell, to let the inhabitants know the day of the month by so many tolls."

Sconcing.—The subject of sconcing is as vast and uncodified as the law of England. Here can be given only an outline of its general features during the golden years, 1876 to 1879.

A sconce was a penalty imposed by the head of the table for the breach of certain rules, natural or artificial, of etiquette, such as swearing, punning, quoting three words of Latin or four of Scripture, reading a paper or book, appearing at table in other than a black coat, or in flannels or too gay nether garments, the latter a strong temptation in the summer term, when there was cricket, and when, as is written in Locksley Hall in Aytoun's version,

In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns
to summer tweeds.

All these were promptly sconced. From the decision of the head of the table, an appeal lay to the Senior Scholar in Hall, and from him to the High Table. If the sconce were not sustained it was charged to the man who had imposed it.

The sconce consisted in two quarts of ale charged to the offender's buttery-account. It was brought in in a giant single-handled covered tankard, to be passed down the table. There were certain strict rules as regards who should have the first sip, lifting the tankard by one hand only, and taking only one draught, the breach of which were sconceable.

The institution was not only in many ways most useful, but productive of much merriment. There was often a great deal of wit shown in the arguments for and against the imposition of some particular sconce.

The custom may be of some antiquity, and date back to the reaction against compulsory speaking of Latin and against the days when conversation was purely theological and generally polemical.

The Call for Grace.—This is made by the senior at the High Table striking the table with a wooden trencher kept for the purpose. I have no doubt that this implement is a genuine College trencher, surviving from pre-crockery days.

PORTRAITS IN THE HALL.

There are two "portraits" of the Founders, which have been engraved by J. Faber, Fleming with crozier and Rotherham with archbishop's staff. I have somewhere seen it stated that these were the gift of Robert Sanderson. Two similar portraits, of a smaller size, old and battered, are in the Library.

There are fine portraits of Bishop Williams, as Lord Keeper, and of Bishop Crewe in his robes as a temporal peer. Another portrait presents Crewe in his episcopal robes.

There are portraits also of George Hickes, the non-juror; of Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, of the High Court of Admiralty; and of Sir William Dolben, Justice of the King's Bench (1689). Dolben's sole connection with the College was through Lord Crewe's trust. The portrait was the gift of a member of that family, John Dolben, son of the Rector of Stene, Crewe Exhibitioner 1717-1725.

The following Rectors have a place: the 17th, Paul Hood; the 18th, Lord Crewe, as above; the 19th, Thomas Marshall; the 21st to the 23rd, John Morley, Euseby Isham, Richard Hutchins; the 26th and 27th, Edward Tatham and John Radford.

A portrait of Mark Pattison, 29th Rector, will shortly be added, the gift of W. Warde Fowler, the present Sub-rector. A portrait also of William Walter Merry will tell future generations of Lincoln men of the gratitude of the College to its present Rector.

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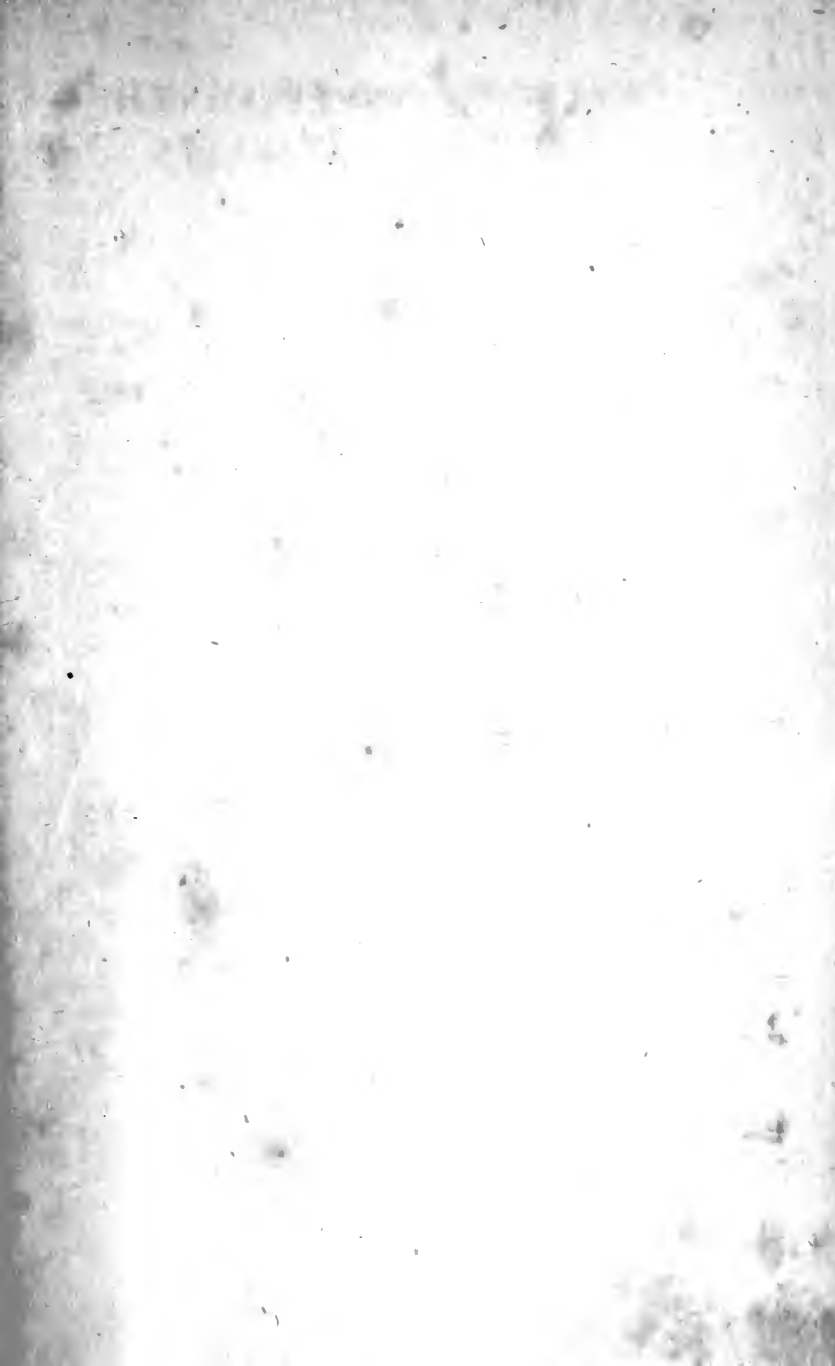
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